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THE GERMAN SPIRIT OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY W. C. WORDSWORTH.

IN a famous passage Plato wrote that when some contingency persuades rulers to turn their attention to philosophy, or philosophers to become rulers, the ideal state will be realized. This teaching must often have recurred to the minds of Germans who contrast Modern Germany with the country that Napoleon struck to the dust. To observers from without Frederick the Great scarcely appears to deserve the reputation either as a ruler or as a philosopher that an adoring Prussia gives him, but a succession of great men, rulers by the strength of their influence, philosophers by their power of seeing deeply into things, even if not at all times lovers of truth, Hardenberg, Stein, Scharnhorst, Bismarck chief among them, gave to Germany a new life and strength and understanding, that have produced the state we know. It may fall far short of the ideal to those who view it dispassionately and not through the dazzling medium of patriotism; but in positive achievement, clear ideals, and power to evoke sacrifice for its welfare, few states have stood so high. Its history during the century is the history of a state that under firm guidance has learned to see its past weaknesses, to turn its back on all that had hampered progress and, taking with it whatever in memory was noble and inspiring, to march steadily towards whatever future science, confidence and self-sacrifice

might achieve. The Germany which under the name of the Holy Roman Empire passed away with the eighteenth century was weak, disunited, mediæval: much progress was necessary if England and France were not to outdistance the new Germany always. To this end a great people have consciously submitted themselves to a national discipline which finds its best parallels in Sparta and Switzerland, and its history is the record of strenuous obedience to a few strong wills.

Modern man as compared with mediæval man is confident in facing nature: the degree in which he can make the processes of nature subservient to his will and contributory to his welfare is great enough to suggest the possibility of ultimately subduing nature altogether. Reason has become practical and creative, controlling not only the forces of the external world but even the movements of the human spirit, and if not seeing merely superstition in religion, at least changing the meaning and content of religion by the application of all kinds of new tests and criteria. In the process here indicated Germany has been foremost: for centuries she lagged behind other powers in material greatness, preferring to interest herself in spiritual matters, but once she had decided to enter into the competition for the good things of this world every quality and capacity of thought and action was easily and readily placed at the service of this new ambition. The results astounded Europe. In thought Kant pointed out the new path of advance. Morality is no longer obedience to the Divine Will, language that is not far removed from the superstition of ignorance. It is the action of the will determined by pure reason, and in obeying the moral law man obeys only his own reason. This view, proclaimed in the days of Germany's worst misery, marked the beginning of a new era in the history of moral consciousness, and while it might suggest the undesirability of obeying external commands, or conforming to external standards, the good sense of the

German peoples preferred to interpret it solely as emphasizing the dignity of man as a thinking being, and in varying forms this doctrine of the dignity and sufficiency of the human will has presented itself throughout the century, culminating in the ruthless "will to power" doctrine which, propounded as a form of nihilistic contemplation by Nietzsche, appears to have been embraced as a practical exhortation by the spokesmen of the war party of present day Prussia. The mind, however, can never free itself entirely from its heritage, and the German mind has retained sufficient of its mediæval content to leaven its modernity: along with its aspirations towards the new it shows great respect for tradition in thought and practice, and consciously pays homage to the past in working out the evolutionary process. The result is a state modern in its materialism, yet paying court to idealism, in which rationalism and Christianity are partly friends, partly enemies, which in Lichtenberger's words "has endeavoured in the realm of religion to make a compromise with traditional beliefs, to 'fulfil' Christianity rather than fight it to the death." The same mental attitude is seen in the great respect for monarchical authority and social rank, which enables the higher powers of the state to tutor the nation to a degree unknown elsewhere in recent times.

On the economic side the great fact of the century is the growth of capitalism, usually called in Germany the system of enterprise. Former ages were satisfied with a competency; the modern age is characterized by a greed for unlimited gain—large fortunes not only satisfy material desires, but also emphasize the possession of industry and ability, thus gratifying personal vanity. The commencement of the century saw the abolition of serfdom and the establishment of an independent peasantry, the freedom of labour and commerce in the towns: the rigid state control of economic life disappeared, and private enterprise in finance and commerce was now possible,

whence resulted the rise of a class of speculators who transformed the whole life of the nation. Agricultural prosperity increased rapidly: the Zollverein stimulated commerce and exchange, roads were improved, the postal system was made reliable, railways were introduced—all of which contributed to the great expanse of wealth and prosperity that followed the troubles of 1848. Between that date and the Franco-Prussian War modern capitalistic Germany was formed, and the nation began to aspire to the position afterwards realized, of being the head of the industrial nations of the continent. This transformation necessarily influenced social life and organization, and gave new directions to thought: capital is arrayed against labour, and we meet the phenomenon of a huge proletariat, with its terrible uncertainty of life. Thence arose the class feeling of the working man: the proletariat organized itself as a political party with a philosophy that it made its own, derived from Fichte and Hegel, the Young Germany party, and finally Marx and Engels. In 1848 the communistic federation, combining the popular and the intellectual elements of the new party, had formulated in a famous manifesto the programme of Socialism, and called upon the proletariat of every country to combine for the class struggle. The aspiration has not been realized: the patriotism of the worker in every country has hitherto risen superior to any sense of the solidarity or identity of interests of the labouring classes, and leading Socialists have often prophesied that when war came the war fever would quickly banish class feeling—a prophecy fully verified by recent events. It is not necessary to discuss the doctrines of German Socialism, which have swept over other countries, but it should be remembered that Marx was a revolutionary not only in economic thought, and did not find in capital the only enemy of the labouring classes: the realization of their destiny demanded a complete social upheaval, the conquest of political power, a transvaluation of social,

political, economic, and moral values. In this sense Marxianism is politically revolutionary, and though it has strongly discountenanced threats of violence and theories of future social organization, it was recognized at the outset as fundamentally hostile to Prussian political organization, and was met, and is met, by the determined and bitter opposition of the Government and the upper classes, who prefer to derive their inspiration from the heroes of the war of Liberation. Prince Von Bulow, who as a former Imperial Chancellor should possess some power of seeing good in all parties in the state, writes of the Social Democrats in these terms:—

“The German Social Democrat clings tenaciously to the tenets of his party, tenaciously and uncritically, and caring nothing for the inner contradictions of the social democratic programme. And as this programme is incompatible with the existing state, the German Social Democrats are irreconcilable. The German working men, more than the same class in any other country, are inclined to believe implicitly in the socialistic principles and the brilliant sophisms of Lassalle, and in the system of Marx, the construction of which affords proof of tremendous mental power and rare perspicacity, of extraordinary knowledge and still more extraordinary dialectics, but which in the course of historical development has been reputed and shaken to its foundations. When Giolitti reproached the Italian Socialists with having discarded the tenets of Marx, he only evoked intelligent amusement; an apostrophe of that kind in our country would have been met with indignant protests. Our Social Democratic party is of the school of Eisenach: not Lassalle and Rodbertus, but Marx and Engels, Bebel and Leibknecht have been its guides, and its attitude towards the state is incomparably more hostile than that of the Socialist parties in France and Italy, which attribute a more or less academic value to socialistic theories, and which are founded, not only on the socialistic idea, but

also on national memories. French Socialism really springs from the Great Revolution, and the Revolution, like the Risorgimento, was inspired by a passionately patriotic spirit.

“Our Social Democratic party lacks this national basis. It will have nothing to do with German patriotic memories which bear a monarchical and military character. It is not, like the French and Italian parties, a precipitate of the process of national historical development, but since its existence it has been in determined opposition to our past history as a nation. It has placed itself outside our national life. Whatever is achieved and accomplished in the state is of no interest to it, except in so far as it can serve to crush existing conditions, and in that manner clear the way for the realization of purely socialistic ideas” (*Imperial Germany*, translation by Lewenz, p. 183) and he discusses at length the necessity of making them “bow, whether amicably or by fighting, to the might of the national idea.” It is scarcely possible to imagine an ex-Premier in England so violently partisan, or so mediæval as to parade the assumption that a strong political party must be crushed for the good of the state.

Socialism alone of political forces in Germany deserves to be regarded as an “opposition” and alone is based on a definite system of thought. The situation thus arising is critical for the parties who see in the maintenance of existing powers and privileges the welfare of the state. In the early part of the century parties were united by principles, the Liberals aiming at the limitation of despotic power and the establishment of constitutional government, the Conservatives at the maintenance of the “principle of authority,” which meant only the power of the King and the privileges of the aristocracy, the Socialists at the realization of the Communist ideal. This condition of affairs was shortlived; the conflict of ideas soon gave way to the conflict of social classes, and the Conservatives became identified with the landed nobility, the Liberals with the middle

and commercial classes, the Socialists with the proletariat. Some such demarcation is found in other countries, and was common in rural England of a generation ago, where the "gentleman" was necessarily "Tory," and the school-boy who wrote in a history paper that "Disraeli entered public life as a Liberal but soon rose to be a Conservative" gave expression to a very definite theory of political propriety. The spread of Socialism is a marked feature of Modern Germany, provoking the energetic hostility of Bismarck and William II. ; it has grown strong in the Reichstag, in many of the local parliaments, and in municipal bodies, but it has in the process of expansion shed much of its proneness to violent views and extreme solutions, and the desire of peaceful reform has grown proportionately stronger. It suffered a severe setback at the elections of 1907, which resulted in a definite triumph for Imperialism, and precipitated the present unhappy condition of international relations ; whether the setback is temporary or permanent will probably be determined by the issue of the war.

German idealism, potent in different ways in Kant and Goethe, developed diversely in its subsequent career, and nowhere had greater influence than in political speculation. In the practice of politics the Germans have shown themselves possessed of a lack of discernment, in Prince Von Bulow's words they lack "the art of proceeding from insight to practical application, and the greater art of doing the right thing politically, by a sure creative instinct." But in the analysis of political ideas and motives they rival the ancient Greeks, and have put the state on an equally high plane : under the influence of Fichte and Hegel they have persistently seen in it "the reflection of a moral idea in an institution," and have given to it the same reverence and enthusiastic devotion that the Middle Ages gave to religious ideals. The cult of the state is the religion, if not of Germany, at least of Prussia : the state is all-noble, all-perfect : it should be all-powerful, because

it is perfect, and to make it so has been the unflinching national endeavour. Certain definite consequences in practical politics have emerged: "on the one hand the State has gradually usurped the place of the Church in the task of organizing and controlling instruction and on the other hand the nation thus organized has become more and more conscious of its responsibility towards all its members." (Lichtenberger, *Germany and its Evolution in Modern Times*.) Education has been secularized and extended; Universities, Secondary Schools, Primary Schools are all under State control, and teach what the State dictates: education has become democratic, as in Scotland, and is no longer organized according to social castes, as in England—it aims at spreading, not the clerical culture of Mediæval Europe and Modern Spain, or the aristocratic culture of Milton's *Tractate* or Loche's *Thoughts*, or the middle class culture of our public school of the nineteenth century, with its peculiar mingling of scholarship, manliness and snobbery, but a national culture, based on an earnest study of the national history, language, and literature, and of the developments of science. Education is counted an invaluable instrument of national welfare, and "it is regarded as an axiom that it was the German teacher who really won Sadowa and Sedan, and that the victories of Germany are essentially due to the superiority of her culture." (Lichtenberger.) We may remember regretfully that the establishment of a system of national education in England was stimulated by the successes of the Prussian Army, an educated army, in 1866 and 1870, and that our network of village schools is valuable in the eyes of many as a contribution to national defence rather than to the satisfaction of the higher aspirations. What German culture achieved in 1870 may be repeated on a larger scale: wider education will put more power at the disposal of the state, and lead to its farther exaltation. But extension of education would be ludicrous if unaccompanied by social

amelioration : the improvement of the citizen must be material and intellectual, and we find Germany readily adopting measures of social reform that only the long pressure of a political party can force upon England. Our angle of vision is different : we boast that in our Empire all are equal before the law, and that every man has freedom of action so long as he does not violate the law : we are far from wanting to boast that every man can profit as he wishes from the culture of the age, or even that as in Prussia every man has a right to escape starvation.

It is difficult in the course of a short article to say anything adequate on the subject of religious thought. Germany was for centuries the land of mystic ideas and religious enthusiasms : in Voltaire's phrase "its Empire was of the air," and modern materialistic conceptions of the universe if they have partly destroyed, have also partly modified and partly verified older ideas. Lichtenberger, a careful student, declines to believe that the century has seen any diminution of the religious sense in Germany, and maintains that the rise of theoretical and practical rationalism has renewed the religion of the modern European. Catholicism, at the end of the eighteenth century apparently doomed by the rise of the modern spirit, has fought and conquered both the party of reform within itself and the secular state that would subdue it. The contests were hard and embittered. The strength of Rome, exerted to restore unity in its own bosom, wore down opposition, and when in 1870 the Vatican Council proclaimed the new dogma that the Pope cannot err "when he defines *ex cathedra*, and in virtue of his apostolic authority, any doctrine of faith or morals," the country accepted it almost without protest. The Church thus reunited was immediately thrown into conflict with the State, the few recalcitrants, chief of whom was Dollinger of Munich, appealing to the Imperial and State Governments for protection against Rome. The response was

what the orthodox Catholics were pleased to call a Diocletian persecution; the struggle, known to history as the *kulturkampf* or war for civilization, was in essence a war between the German Empire and the Roman curia, and, after fifteen years of hostilities, resulted in the complete defeat of the State, the withdrawal of all anti-catholic legislation, and the strengthening of the centre or Catholic party, organized in 1870 to defend Catholic interests in the political sphere, and to-day the strongest party in this Protestant state. Protestantism has had a less notable history: its great achievement was to work out some reconciliation between science and faith, through the instrumentality of idealism and of profound Biblical criticism. Over against these two interpretations of Christianity was free thought, vigorous, militant, confident, which grew to great strength in the middle of the century, and has retained its influence over the masses, while losing much of its credit with the cultured. Marx and Engels in social philosophy, Haeckel and Karl Vogt in science, are its great names, and for obvious reasons it soon allied itself with Socialism — “Christianity and Socialism,” said Bebel, “are like fire and water together.”

For the intellectuals to whom neither of these main alternatives appealed, other sub-creeds were developed, Positivism, Neokantianism, Pessimism, represented by Schopenhauer, Heine, and in music Wagner, and Philosophic Nihilism, represented by Nietzsche. As current events have given Nietzsche a wide if only a newspaper reputation in England, a few words about his doctrines will not be out of place. How far does he deserve to be ranked with Treitschke and writers like Bernhardt as an influence in bringing about the present conflict? Nihilism, negation, can scarcely be an inspiring principle: men are fired by positive passions, not by cold indifferentism. Nietzsche was “the incarnation of that profound mistrust experienced by the nineteenth century for every religious interpretation of the universe and for all the comforting

hypotheses in which humanity till then found consolation." (Lichtenberger.) Christianity and metaphysics have deluded man by pretending that there is a God or a moral meaning behind this world. We have advanced far enough in the path of knowledge to be aware that there is no God, in Nietzsche's words, that "God is dead." The values of things are not determined by any a priori or absolute standard, but by the man of genius, who determines Good and Evil, and stamps his view on all Becoming, giving its meaning to Truth itself. He, the superman, takes the place of God: morality is his fiat, and so the whole table of values must be transformed. What is strong in action will be virtue, what is weak, vice: the "will to power" is the noblest attribute of man. Could this doctrine inspire a theory of politics that ignores what hitherto have been regarded as the sanctions of morality? Nietzsche as a man of noble soul, intrepid thought, and a moral earnestness that shattered his mind in the search for truth has won great respect, but there is little evidence that his revolutionary mysticism has impelled public action to any noteworthy extent. His morality was individualistic, not national: from quotations carefully abstracted we may learn that weak nations should be trampled on by the strong, and that a state should shrink from nothing in its march to power, but quotations are often dishonest weapons, and Nietzsche in general looks for the evolution of the good European through the peaceful intermingling of nations. He was a mystic, a Pole, a hater of Prussia. If there is consciousness beyond the grave he probably suffers to know that Bernhardt has appealed to him in support of his own views. "When I try to think of the kind of man who is opposed to me in all my instincts my mental image takes the form of a German." "Russia is the only great nation of to-day that has some lasting power and grit in her, that can bide her time, that can still promise something." "The doctrine of the army as a means of

self-defence must be abjured as completely as the lust of conquest. Perhaps a memorable day will come when a nation renowned in wars and victories, distinguished by the highest developments of military order and intelligence, and accustomed to make the heaviest sacrifices to these objects, will voluntarily exclaim 'We will break our swords,' and will destroy its whole military system, lock, stock, and barrel. Making ourselves defenceless (after having been the most strongly defended) from a loftiness of sentiment—that is the means towards genuine peace, which must always rest upon a pacific disposition. The so-called armed peace that prevails at present in all countries is a sign of a bellicose disposition, of a disposition that trusts neither itself nor its neighbour, and partly from hate, partly from fear, refuses to lay down its weapons. Better to perish than to hate and fear, and twice as far better to perish than to make ourselves hated and feared—this must some day become the supreme maxim of every political community." Under the guidance of the daily papers we have come to see in the writer of these an inspirer of Germany to evil, and our greatest paper has made of him an Antichrist.*

It is a reasonable supposition that Nietzsche contributed nothing but a phrase or two, and something of his contempt for the weak, to the spirit of Germany of to-day, if that is faithfully reflected in the prolific war literature of the last two decades. The positive inspiration of the national "will to power" has been the wonderful achievements of the German people since the war of Liberation. After a thousand years they have again become a united people and have entered the ranks of the nations: attempts to accomplish this by political and spiritual efforts failed finally in 1848, and success was attained by three easily won wars. It is no matter for surprise if the nation has come to see in war the principle of its success and greatness, or that the realization of a

* See the poem in the *Times* of 13th September "Christ or Nietzsche."

united nationality through the crowded events of a decade led to a deep interest in the world's past and to a remarkable development of historical literature. Its great names in this study are many, some of them household words among scholars in England, who have looked to Germany for guidance in historical study : Treitschke, the most influential of all in his own country, was until a few months ago almost unknown outside it, not having yet been translated, and a history of nineteenth century Germany in nineteen volumes, with not a smile in the whole, would probably make little appeal to readers in other lands. Diligence and judgment in the collection of facts, impartiality in their presentation, and honesty of mind in educing from them a philosophy of history are emphasized by the Germans themselves as their great contributions towards historical science. We may grant their claim, gratefully and admiringly, with the reservation that strict partiality in the presentation of facts, if possible at all, would have no inspiring force, and make no appeal to human activity. The bias with which he writes is often the measure of a historian's fame. Froude, Gibbon, Macaulay are instances in point. So with the German historians ; exulting in their nation's greatness they see in it the chosen people, whose mission is to spread their national civilization over less happy countries, and correct the misfortune that has happened to the world through the belated development of German potentialities. This conviction is expressed in a variety of ways : by an enthusiasm for Greek imperialism and the culture on which it rested, for the first German Empire, for the strong men of history, by scorn for the weak and gentle, and an intense hatred of the countries that are potentially enemies of the new comer. With a belief of almost Israelitic fervour in their destiny, they were conscious of no duties to neighbouring peoples, and if the French were the Moabites and Russia the Assyrian kingdom, the English were certainly the Philistines, who checked their expansion westwards, and enjoyed a power and consideration little deserved,

obtained through chance and crime, and held without sense of obligation. So while Mommsen lauded Cæsarism as the power that could bring order out of chaos and strength out of weakness, Treitschke devoted his life to the glorification of Prussia and the vilification of England, and the insistence on the destruction of England's seapower as the one condition of Germany's greatness. In Professor Cramb's *Germany and England*, which has run into many editions since its publication in June last, his teaching and influence are fully and appreciatively considered, and England has learned with its usual pained surprise at a new discovery that a strong intellectual forcè has arisen against us, whose anger is provoked not by a belief in our unscrupulousness so much as by the knowledge that we have known how to win and keep what we have won. "Man after all does not desire happiness: only the Englishman does that," is one of Treitschke's sneers, aimed both at the nonchalance with which we maintain our wonderful empire, and at our comfortable utilitarian philosophy. Professor Cramb's eulogy of Germany should be read by all who desire clear knowledge of the forces and principles that have come into collision: in her he sees a mighty power throbbing with life, exultant in her strength, with every muscle braced for the fulfilment of what she considers her mission, while England, on whom the shock is to fall, meanders along, ignorant of the gathering clouds, or smugly confident in her capacity safely to muddle through. "In this universe of ours the thing that is wholly a sham—wholly rotten—may endure for a time, but cannot endure for ever," says Treitschke of the British Empire, and Heine flung down the challenge in another form: "How can so ignoble a people as the English have produced Shakespeare." With strength, preparation and culture against us we were to fall rapidly in the time of trial.

This teaching, in a land where academic thought soon influences practice, and the materialistic development

of philosophy, have brought the German nation into a position which it can maintain only at the expense of its neighbours. If as is frequently said the idealism has departed and German intellect is temporarily bankrupt, let us be chastened by the reflection that in German eyes England has recently produced only two thinkers of power, Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw. In Russia alone is there at the moment loftiness of intellect and spirit ; perhaps from the clash of nations will come once more into western Europe nobility of thought and clarity of vision.

W. C. WORDSWORTH.

Calcutta.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

BY NEMO.

IT was late September, 1914, and the Government of Byfar-Toorisky was at Pure Air, that salubrious health resort on the Bay of Bengal. As a matter of fact *all* the Government (which consisted of a Lieutenant-Governor and three Executive Councillors, plus Secretaries) was not there, but then in that favoured Province it is fortunately never necessary for the whole Government to be assembled simultaneously at any one place, for there is not very much for them to do. Thus, in the present case, one member of the Government was collecting subscriptions for the War Fund at Benares, another was writing a Census Report at Ranti, and a third was despondently contemplating the building operations on the new High Court in the juicy purlieus of the new "City" of Sailabpur. But this is by the way. The Government, as represented by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and a Chief Secretary, *was* at Pure Air, and mighty steamy did His Honour find it. However, he deemed it his duty to be there. He expatiated on this point to the Chief Secretary as they sat, sated with pomfret and prickly heat, in the verandah of the brand-new Government House after dinner. This castellated mansion was in the best style of Public Works Department "purple pavilion" so beloved of Lord Curzon, and as it stood well down upon the beach it commanded an admirable view of the Bay of Bengal.

"Smith," said His Honour—a bland personality addicted, like all Lieutenant-Governors, to high ideals—"Smith, I am satisfied that our annual visit here is likely to be productive of lasting good to Toorisky. As you are aware, the Government of India, in creating our Province, laid stress upon the valuable possibilities of its

seaboard, and they have since requested me to spare no efforts in the direction of developing the Toorisky ports. It is true that there are no ports, properly speaking, but there are some charming villages situated by the sea, and our Customs revenue is already over £100 per annum. This is encouraging, and it is one of my dearest ambitions to double this revenue during my tenure of office. I may be over-optimistic, but it has ever been my motto, through a not undistinguished career, to soar, like the Royal Flying Corps, *per ardua ad astra*. And possibly, with the help of the B. I. S. S. Co., my aspirations may materialise. What is your view?"

The Chief Secretary, yielding to the irresistible demands of prickly heat, scratched himself.

"I have not noticed, Sir," he said, after a pause, "that the Customs revenue has increased during the $2\frac{1}{2}$ years since the Province was constituted. You see, the absence of harbours—"

"Oh that," interrupted His Honour, "is but a temporary difficulty. Doubtless we shall overcome that in time. Further, in Byfar-Toorisky one can always hope for a tidal wave, and who knows what developments in the coast-line would result from a cataclysm of that sort? The Government of India, I understand, have great hopes in this connection. Besides, our autumn visit here is not only an encouragement to Toorisky's sea trade. It serves to associate Toorisky, for three weeks in the year at any rate, with the rest of the Province with which, unfortunately, it has no apparent connection. I have been delighted with the interest which my visit has seemingly caused among the Indian community. No less than two Feudatory Chiefs, three retired Sub-Judges, four Vakils, and an ex-Deputy Inspector of Excise have called upon me since I have been here, and you know how the local fisherfolk flock down to see me bathe in the mornings. So we seem anyhow to be of more account here than the Government of Bengal is at its second capital. I have reasons for believing that when

Lord Carmichael plays golf at Dacca no one but the local expert in trench-filling takes the slightest interest in his movements."

The Chief Secretary was sleepy and wanted to get to bed. However, he conceived it to be his duty to play up to his Chief.

"How greatly it would add to the interest and importance of your stay here, Sir," he remarked, "if you could arrange for one of His Majesty's ships to give us a call! There are three or four men-of-war in the Bay on the look out for a German cruiser said to be skulking there, and it is possible that one or other of these might now be induced to look in here. Her appearance would do much to arouse public enthusiasm in these parts, and to show the Tooriyas that they are safe from German raids."

"Curious that you should have mentioned that, Smith," replied His Honour; "the idea had struck me too, and I have already wired to the Indian Marine people at Calcutta to see whether they could manage this for me. I think we should certainly try and get a cruiser here during my visit. And, by the way, do you know that while I was walking on the beach this evening, I saw one of the cruisers you speak of very far out, steaming slowly along the coast? She may possibly be sent to pay us a visit. Her arrival would certainly cause a sensation and would materially benefit the marine policy of my Government. I am, however, obliged to you for the suggestion. And now I will retire to rest."

Within the hour the beach front of Pure Air was wrapped in darkness and, save for a sleepy sentry pacing in front of Government House, not a soul was astir. The only sound was the solemn booming of the surf from a sleepy sea. It would be impossible to conceive of a more admirably reposeful setting for the hatching of gubernatorial schemes.

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3 a.m. The stars were fading and the night was at its blackest in its daily futile resistance to the approach of

dawn. On the East Coast in England at this hour searchlights were playing ceaselessly upon the murky waters of that Ocean once called German ; but here, in the Bay of Bengal, what need for such precautions ? Had not the Royal Indian Marine announced that the *Pax Britannica* was here inviolable ?

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3-30 a.m. What is that craft which has crept in silently and unseen within a mile of Pure Air beach and now lies quietly at anchor in the offing ? Dark grey, sinister, three-funnelled and low in the water. A light cruiser surely and a speedy one, though dirty with the buffetings of monsoon seas. Doubtless she is one of the British cruisers of which His Honour spoke, come in response to wireless messages to pay him that visit of ceremony which is so greatly to impress the Tooriyas. But, alas, at Pure Air there is no R. I. M. representative to enlighten one. The cruiser lowers a life boat, broad-beamed, flat-bottomed and of shallow draught, well fitted to surmount the surf of this unfriendly coast—now, thanks to the lull in the monsoon, in no way formidable. A quiet word of command and the boat speeds shoreward manned by 20 men who, with intent no doubt to do His Honour greater reverence, are all armed to the teeth. Her coming is unperceived, it being no one's business at Pure Air to mark her arrival, and His Honour's sentry, who might have seen her had he chanced to look her way, being quite comfortably asleep in his sentry-box. And so, having deftly tackled the breakers, the boat's crew bring her comfortably to shore and run her up the beach to a snug resting-place. Not a soul has noticed, far less interfered with them, all Pure Air being fast asleep save perhaps a priest or two in the famous temple, which is nevertheless too self-sufficient to worry itself with marine affairs. Leaving two men in charge of the boat, her crew hurry across the beach towards Government House, the soft sand effectively muffling all sounds

of footsteps. Arrived in front of His Honour's mansion, his naval visitors halt for a moment, and one, who is clearly the officer in command, gives a couple of whispered orders. Four men make for the sentry-box and six for a small tent lying a few paces further away. All carry what look like long mufflers, and a few ropes are also to be seen. An anxious silence, and then a sound of suppressed gurglings from the tent and a grunt or two from the sentry-box, from which a muffled form is carried and laid gently (albeit in a somewhat constrained position) on the sand alongside. The gentlemen from the cruiser have evidently thought well to relieve His Honour's camp guard of duties which, it must be confessed, did not appear to tax their attention unduly. This business done, they rejoin their comrades in front of the porch. It would seem, however, that it is no part of the intention of the cruiser's officer to assimilate his proceedings to those of a public arrival. He clearly prefers the methods of the private entrée. Posting half his men in couples round the building, he proceeds with the remainder to steal quietly up the front steps, and thence, by the staircase, to make for the floor above. On that floor repose His Honour, his Chief Secretary, a Private Secretary and an Aide. All the doors of their rooms are open and it is apparent that the occupants are soundly asleep. Arrived at the upper storey, the cruiser's officer halts for a few moments on the verandah outside the bedrooms and again whispers a few words to his own men. Then, unaccompanied, he creeps along the verandah and cautiously enters each of the bedrooms in turn, seemingly bent on identifying the occupant. This done, he returns to his men, and a moment later seven barefooted tars are following him down the verandah. By a sign he allots two men to each room and finally enters, with one companion, the room at the furthest end of the house. Strange to say, both he and each of his men is now carrying a revolver in his hand, and it is clear that this

early morning visit (it is now nearly 5 a.m.) is intended to present some of the features of a surprise packet. Our officer approaches the sleeping form in the centre of the room which he has invaded and gently touches the sleeper. It is now possible to see that he is a tall fair man with close cropped hair and beard and a merry twinkle in his eye.

"A word with your Honour," he says, in excellent English, but seemingly with a Teutonic accent.

"I must have a cruiser," replied His Honour (for he it was) in a tone of sleepy insistence.

"You have one, Sir," gently remarked the officer, "and it will be my pleasing duty to conduct you on board of her."

His Honour started up in bed. In the dim light it was just possible to admire the delicate hue of his *pyjamas*. He gazed openmouthed at the two figures by his bedside, and, as he caught sight of the weapons in their hands, made as though to leap from his couch. The officer restrained him, firmly but with the utmost politeness.

"I fear, Sir," he murmured, "that this visit is somewhat unexpected. At the same time your Honour will remember that you asked for it. At least so we were informed by the Royal Indian Marine, who have—by wireless—most considerably acquainted all shipping in the Bay of your Honour's wish that a cruiser should put in at Pure Air. It so happened that, when we received this message yesterday, our cruiser was within easy steam of this place, whereas it also happens that no British cruisers are at the moment within 300 miles. And as I chance to know this coast well, my captain has sent me ashore to convey an invitation to your Honour."

"What," gasped His Honour, "do you mean to say that you do not come from a British ship?"

"On the contrary, Sir, we have the honour to represent His Imperial Germanic Majesty's light cruiser *Hememin*, which, at this moment, is lying within a mile

of the shore. Her captain, who is a gentleman of remarkable sociability, is most anxious to offer to your Honour the hospitality of his ship, and it is my pleasing duty to intimate to your Honour that he is looking forward to your company at breakfast."

"But this is monstrous," blurted the Lieutenant-Governor. "What you suggest is sheer kidnapping—an offence under the Indian Penal Code to which a most severe sentence attaches. I will not lightly yield to such effrontery. Smith! Jones! Robinson!—" and His Honour loudly called upon the members of his staff.

"I regret, Sir," said the officer after permitting the Lieutenant-Governor the full use of his lungs for some seconds, "that my orders were to place your staff and guard under a slight temporary disability. The *Hememin* unfortunately has but little room for guests, and as my captain is unable to entertain anyone but your Honour, he thought it as well so to deal with your staff that they should be amply excused for permitting your Honour to accompany me alone. Will your Honour now be pleased to dress? I can allow you five minutes for the purpose."

Spluttering with suppressed fury His Honour arose and proceeded to throw on a few garments. When he was ready, his deferential captor conducted him to the verandah, where, to His Honour's amazement, lay the three members of his staff, stretched each upon his mattress, gagged and trussed in impotent array. Six stolid Teuton tars stood in line behind them.

"I fear, Sir," said the officer, "that it will be necessary for your Honour's staff to take leave of you here. It might be inconvenient both to them and to you were they to accompany you further. Your Honour will perhaps permit me to express, on their behalf, their regret at your Honour's solitary departure."

The sight of his prostrate staff roused His Honour to a fury of indignation.

"Smith," he shouted, turning towards the recumbent form of his Chief Secretary, "Smith,—it appears that I have been made the victim of an abominable outrage, and that I am about to be martyred to make a Teuton holiday. I protest with all the emphasis at my command against this unseemly abduction. It is monstrous that such trickery should be resorted to by a Power which calls itself civilized. It is doubly painful to me that my interest in the marine development of Toorisky should have been the direct cause of this deplorable mischance, but I trust that if you are spared by those ruffians now standing behind you, you will not fail to acquaint the Government of India—"

"I regret, Sir," interrupted the cruiser's officer, "that I cannot permit your Honour to conclude your address to your staff. My instructions are to take you on board the *Hememin* with the least possible delay. May I request you to follow me?"

And follow His Honour did—a tragic figure of authority dethroned.

* * * * *

Half an hour passed. All was very still on the upper verandah of Government House. The three shrouded figures lay perfectly still on their mattresses, gagged, bound and helpless, awaiting release. Their Teuton guards had followed His Honour away from the verandah and had not since been seen. About 6 a.m. Ram Das, His Honour's bearer, waddled up the stairs with the matutinal cup of tea and plantain without which no day in India would be complete. On reaching the verandah Ram Das was amazed at the sight which met his eyes, and imagining that *bhuts* had descended upon the Residency during the night, he fled shrieking down the stairs. At the foot he met Gokul Singh, one of the Chief Secretary's orderlies, who informed him with much gusto that he had just seen His Honour's sentry lying dead besides his sentry box. Of a truth the powers of evil had been at work.

In less than no time the entire establishments of His Honour and staff had assembled at the foot of the stairs and their deliberations were not peaceful. But with the *naukarlog*, as with many other excellent folk, curiosity triumphs over fear. Rahim Bux, His Honour's khansamah, was determined to have a peep at the mute figures above. He crept up the stairs to do so, and it chanced that as he reached the top, the Chief Secretary emitted an audible gurgle and heaved upon his mattress.

"Smith Sahib lives," yelled Rahim, and rushed forward to that gentleman's assistance. The whole crowd followed him. In a few seconds all three sahibs had been ungagged and untied, and each staggered to his feet, carefully avoiding his neighbour's eyes as he did so. As Smith reeled forward against the balustrade, the boom of a cannon was heard to seaward, and looking out across the Bay, Smith and his companions realized that the cruiser was saluting a small boat which was just about to run alongside. They watched her reach the gangway and then observed their Chief, erect and dignified, march up the steps. As he reached the top one, he raised his helmet, and as he did so, a white-clad figure stepped forward to meet him. The cruiser's Captain evidently. The Captain saluted his prisoner with *empressement*, and held out a hand which His Honour clasped. And then the two figures moved backwards and the staff saw them no more. In five minutes, having completed her 15 rounds of formal welcome, the *Hememin* dipped her flag to the shore and steamed out into the Bay. Pure Air had had her sensation, but not quite in the manner that His Honour had designed.

* * * * *

One glorious November morning, some five weeks later, the head lighthouse-keeper on the northern island of the Laccadives, off the south-west coast of India, was amazed to see an unknown cruiser heave-to some half-mile from the shore and proceed to lower a small

dinghy. A solitary figure clambered down into the boat and commenced to row to the lighthouse. As he began to leave the cruiser astern, the ship's company cheered him mightily, and the oarsman stood up in his place and waved an oar over his head in response. The cruiser then steamed away. Marvelling who the oarsman might be, the lighthouse-keeper directed his glass upon him. He discovered that he was an elderly gentleman of bronzed complexion, seemingly in admirable condition, for he paddled lustily. In the boat with him were numerous bottles of beer, some dozens of German sausages, what looked like black bread, and other provender.

"A Deutscher, as I'm a sinner," gasped the lighthouse-keeper. "What the 'ell is 'e up to 'ere? 'Ere, Bill,"—he shouted to his companion—"just yer come down and 'elp me tackle this bloke with the sorsages." And down they went, just in time to meet the dinghy as she breasted the steps of the lighthouse.

"Good morning, gentlemen," said her occupant, with much politeness, "I must apologize to you for this intrusion, but I have no alternative but to ask for your hospitality for a time. The fact is I have been marooned by that cruiser; but, as you see, I do not come empty handed" and His Honour, for of course it was he, pointed with satisfaction to his store of Teutonic provisions.

The two lighthousemen gaped in amazement. His Honour continued: "It is probable that you do not receive a daily paper at this station, and you may not accordingly have heard that the Lieutenant-Governor of Byfar-Toorisky was abducted from Pure Air in September by the German Cruiser *Hememin*. However, that is what happened; that yonder is the cruiser, and I am the Lieutenant-Governor."

"Crikey," said Bill.

"Yes," said His Honour, putting on his coat and clambering out of the boat. "I was abducted, and since then I have spent five weeks on that enterprising craft.

In the course of that time I have learnt much both of men and of policies and I can safely say that I have never spent a more instructive or salubrious privilege leave anywhere. My treatment has been uniformly admirable, for my host was a most gallant gentleman. Nevertheless, during the days that I must spend with you, gentlemen, pending the arrival of your next relief, I propose to record on paper that I have recast my ideas regarding the desirability of an active marine policy for the Province of Byfar-Toorisky and to inform the Government of India that if they want to proceed on those lines, they can run their own.....er.....er.....blooming show themselves."

And with an air of mature conviction, His Honour (who had never looked better) gripped a bundle of clothes which he had brought with him in the boat and preceded the astonished lighthousemen upstairs into their abode.

The beer and the sausages were removed later.

* * * * *

And who shall say that these things might not have been ?

NEMO.

12th November, 1914.

ON THE VALUE OF CONVENTIONS IN LITERATURE.

BY U. RAGHUNATHAN.

IF, as Pater says, "to regard all things and principles of things as in constant modes or fashions has more and more become the tendency of modern thought," it will not be an anachronism to assert that conventions embody the trend of thought of an age gone by. And that is also the rational explanation of the term. A convention is the mummied mind of a particular generation that has passed away for ever in the pageant of History. Then in what way is such a fossilized remnant of antiquity helpful to Literature which is nothing if not an ever-growing organism? Only in the way in which all emblems of mortality—a tomb, a graveyard, a loving inscription—can be useful. It has a sobering effect upon us. It makes you pause and consider. It shows you the beautiful simplicity and appropriateness of the pause—the perfect rest—in the race. In short, it makes you more melancholy, mild and gentle. It lays its cooling hand upon the hot blood that so quickly mounts to the brain and turns it to a more temperate course. It gives you an accurate sense of value. But if you want to make it yield its full measure of usefulness you must ever have a controlling hand over it. Convention, like fire, is a good servant but a bad master. Once give it full sway and you come to savour too much of the tomb, mould and the skull. You are Yorick *minus* his wit. The probable poet in you becomes the actual sexton.

This modified value of convention has been fully recognized by all great writers and to a certain extent utilized by them to the advantage of their works—to their greater mellowing. And they have made use of convention

in all its three aspects—convention in matter, convention in form and convention in expression. Of these three, convention in matter has naturally had the greatest and most beneficent influence. For it is trite criticism that the matter of literature may be common to many, while each man's manner must be his own.

Convention is very helpful to the young artist as a training-ground. The amateur, dimly conscious of great possibilities, but still uncertain of his own powers, makes his first exercises in the art of literature through the medium of convention. For where matter is ready to hand he has only to concentrate his attention on the manner through which he can find a new exposition of an old story. Shakespeare in his initial efforts makes use of the Plautian convention for this purpose. This Plautian comedy is an artificial affair because it is not a native growth but imitated from the Greek Comedy—the New Comedy of Menander—in which were always to be found a few well-worn types—a virtuous, irascible old gentleman, his good-natured prodigal son, leech-like parasite of the latter, a clever unscrupulous male servant and a female slave. The frequent trick through which the complication of the play was brought about was a mistake in identity through which all characters were for a time plunged in a chaos of allusions not understood, secrecies unintelligible, knowledge undesired. This *motive* of the Plautian comedy is made use of by Shakespeare in his “Comedy of Errors.” The whole comedy is well regulated by rule and compass. The originality of the adapter comes in, if at all, only in the manner.

Even to the trained dramatist, convention is valuable at times as a corrective influence. After a trying period of strenuous exertion, mental and imaginative, he needs a relaxation, a parenthesis of leisure; and his work, a play of fancy. Realism in unmitigated rigour is always depressing. It is always holding under your nose your bond of fate. You are not allowed to forget even for a

moment what you are. You are not at liberty to think of man as he ought to be. This is what makes the *reading* of the work of realists like George Gissing a distressing experience. It gives you only a partial view of life. Hope ever young in the human breast is held up to ridicule as an impostor. This offends your moral sensibility. It mercilessly thrashes out of life one of the first articles of faith. Everything in which man believes cannot be without its value to man. Now conventions are old manufactures in the loom of time, long discarded. They have an old-world fragrance about them—the pleasing mustiness of decay. They have all the picturesqueness of an ancient garb. Hence they give to literature (when properly used) a holiday mood—a joyous, irresponsible lightness of touch. They have the humorous quaintness and the mild sceptical pleasure of an old tale. They impart to literature that imaginative idealism which transmutes the drab of life into the substance of poetry. And as such they are not out of place. Shakespeare can give us his Forest of Arden and the imaginary island of Prospero (which are among the first batch in the august prophetic procession of tales) without violating our sense of poetic truth.

Moreover conventions have often been used as pegs on which to hang a plot. With their aid the artist creates an atmosphere very favourable to the growth of multifarious ideas. Thus he is more free to follow up more important matters. In any great work in which the author's thoughts on all that affects humanity are more important than the clever handling of incidents, a conventional story is a better framework for these ideas than a cunningly contrived tale; for our attention is little engrossed by the story itself and is more fully and legitimately taken up with the core of it. Thus Chaucer's tales are almost always conventional, taken bodily from the monotonous old Romances of the Middle Ages. It is often a story of the

sudden, violent quarrel between two men who had been the fastest of friends until they saw a maid, as in the Knight's Tale; or of wrong and of Nemesis, as in the Nun's Priest's Tale; or of the Fall of Princes, as in the Monk's Tale; or of the undying faith of a patient loving woman, as in the beautiful Tale of Griselde. All of these stories have been the common property of all ages and climes; and each constitutes a type. Still no one has related them so freshly and beautifully, so humorously and tenderly—in such a unique manner in fact, as Chaucer. The secret of it is that Chaucer's individuality is so lovably prominent in all parts of the tales, giving them a new and permanent lease of life. Or, again, consider for a moment the novels of Richardson and Fielding. Richardson's *Lovelace* is a very familiar figure in fiction—the traditional profligate scapegoat of passions. And his *Pamela* is the correspondingly immaculate virtuous woman. But his work is saved (though times a weariness of the flesh, in all conscience) by an unrivalled intimate knowledge of the human, especially the feminine heart. As for Fielding he is truly the Homer of prose fiction. He is rash enough to compass in himself all that is interesting to and about God's creation. And his pages of friendly discourse with the reader are sheets torn direct from the Book of Life. What then if his *Blifil* be the usual smiling villain and his *Squire* and *Thwackum* the eternal pledges of barren argument?

But perhaps the greatest value of convention lies in the fact that it gives literature at times (paradoxical as it may sound) the real Romantic setting. It makes for us the vivid past. It acquaints the judicially minded man with the life and living belief of a vanished age. Such is the great Pastoral tradition—at once the symbol and the fulfilment of all convention. It became for the first time an important *genre* in the hands of Theocritus, Byron and Moschus. Theocritus sings of the “simple, realistic, genuinely rustic element of Sicily”

with the note of regret with which a cultured society looks back upon its ancient past. If society did only this it would not at all be conventional. But when it seriously desires a return to this past, which, under the circumstances, is impossible, its aspirations become conventional. But they need not be the less genuine on that account. So it is not untrue to describe the desire of the early Greeks and of their later imitators as living beliefs! The pastoral tenet is the hungering desire to return to the customs of an earlier, in fact *less conventional* age. And this, just as all talk against cant itself degenerates into the surest cant, became conventions, by its importance being a little too exaggerated and its nature being hardly adaptable to mere modern surroundings. Thus under the hardened surface of this convention was once felt the pulsing throb of humanity. And out of it, Time in its ravages has made for us an interesting piece of Antiquity—an antiquity not so dead but may yet form an interesting link between God and (us) his youngest children. It spans the continuous current of human belief. It fills a gap in the history of Man's Thought. And it is of engrossing interest—as all antiquity is. This interest is twofold. It tempts us with an engaging prospect of primeval simplicity. Besides, there is always the Golden Age of Saturn ever lingering as a roseate dream in the memory of the hapless modern. And the true lover of antiquity (as all men should be) is also to a certain extent a lover of all that is conventional. Let it be remembered, that it was Lamb who wrote the gallant defence of the conventional comedy of the Restoration—Lamb who had “the very soul of an antiquarian.”

An antiquity which has so much exercised the minds of men is indeed a fit poetic theme. But how to work it into poetry? According to the æsthetic theory real life is the sum total of all understood and assimilated experiences. And man's intellectual life is a summation of all the mental experiences of the world. Now a convention like the Pastoral tradition helps us to make

life more complete by presenting to us the experience of a past generation *in a form from which it can be easily revived*. For convention, when it isolates an experience, employs the principle of selection. A convention is compressed experience made old-fashioned and sluggish by Time. In it the *point* of the experience is emphasized even to exaggeration. (For instance, the real significance of the pastoral instinct as betrayed fugitively in the unbalanced efforts of its professors from Theocritus down to Marie Antoinette in the Trianon is a restless discontent with the present and an eager expectation to find in an ideal past a vague happiness.) Convention is the mysterious balm that alone can preserve the vitality of an experience in a state of suspension. The experience comes to possess an acquired strength by the weight of a thousand reiterations. To bring it back to life and add it to our store of quick "sensations" is the work of literature. In a really creative work this conventional element is brought into juxtaposition with living ideas and by the force of suggestion those little intimate touches are transferred to it, which are the signs of life. Thus in "As you like It" by matching the quick intelligence of Rosalind and the practical-mindedness of Celia with the fairyland of convention, Shakespeare has brought about—not the chaotic unreality of the whole, but the reduction of the animate and the inanimate alike to a level of neutral ground, where both the actual and the imaginary come within the pale of the probable—thus realizing for you Pastoralism *as an experience*. The little touch that here works out the metamorphosis is the symbolizing of the traditional pastoral imagery, which lessens the intractability of external Nature and makes of it a proper setting for a number of people, who, having for the moment abandoned the actual world, are, as it were, suspended in mid-air waiting for a new world to be prepared for them by the poet's fancy. Thus even conventions serve to make life more complete.

Literature based on convention always gives room for a free play of ideas. In works of this kind convention is an easily detachable shell and the kernel is always invaluable as an intellectual document. For the characters in such works (taking imaginative works alone into consideration) are scarcely human, as we conceive humanity. They are not marked by great feelings or great failings. They do not possess the great social virtues nor are they connoisseurs in crime. Their heart is neither soft and yielding, nor fierce and oppressive. It is just *nothing*. They have no emotional appeal to us. They take their stand on hard, cold and keen intellect. They have their existence in an imaginary world from which morals have been excluded. So it is a purely intellectual standard by which they must stand or fall. And their life is one long battle in which the dunce (perhaps a good one) goes down and the clever person (perhaps a devil) gains the day. Hence the brilliant wit in the plays of Congreve and Moliere. It is a very rare substance—the piercing spark produced by the clash of two intellects edged like fine steel. The heroes and heroines of their comedy are clear-sighted men and women of the world. Take for instance the charming figure of Millamant in Congreve's "Way of the World." Her wit is something to be remembered—but she is a perfectly artificial town coquette. Congreve's wit is seen even to a greater advantage in his "Love for Love"—as where "Mrs. Frail rejoices in the harmlessness of wounds to a woman's virtue 'if she keeps them from air'!" But Congreve is no equal to Moliere in this respect, Celimene in the "Misanthrope" is a terrible woman. "She is a woman's mind in movement armed with an ungovernable wit."

In works of a somewhat different type, the author is himself the embodiment of the Comic Spirit. By delicate touches he manages to convey to us the impression of the Spirit (as Meredith conceived it) standing invisible over the head of the victim and pointing the finger of scorn at him or her. The personages thus selected for

special honour by the genius of thoughtful laughter are the dull respectables in fiction. Old Miss Crawley—that odd mixture of selfishness and avarice, shrewdness and prudery—is a case in point. She is on the whole a good woman. And her prototypes in real life are highly conventional. They need not be insincere. *But they have no ideas!* The birth of an idea is a glorious thing. It is the one bright spot in an otherwise sunless existence. It is the mind's festival. These poor people never once experience this joyous sensation. And the spirit overhead looks "humanely malign and casts an oblique light on them, followed by volleys of silvery laughter." Thus convention is a fit theme for the Comic Poet.

So far we have dealt with convention in matter. Convention in form has been on the whole less influential and widespread; but its merits and defects alike are more patent. In English Literature, especially in the Elizabethan period, there were many conventions that sometimes clogged and sometimes helped Literature. They were imposed on the growing Literature of England by some of its great practisers who were the direct offsprings of the Renaissance and had extreme reverence for authority. They thought that the Greek and Latin literatures were the best models for English and that it could not go wrong if it strictly observed the restrictions that Time had proved good for those ancient literatures. This resulted in many conventions—the Unities, the Decorum, the Allegory, and, in the eighteenth century, Poetic Diction.

The question of Unities is as old as Aristotle. Aristotle insists only on the Unity of Action. He simply observes that the Unity of Time is to be found in the great Attic Tragedians. He does not at all mention the Unity of Place. His Italian followers interpreted him as insisting on all the three Unities; and every play on the Continent which did not observe them was censured to

oblivion. And English critics faithfully followed their Italian masters. The value of this convention is limited. The Unity of Action is a wholesome restriction; without it, the extraordinary vigour of the Elizabethans would have run riot in a chaos of contrary themes. The other two are not essential; if they were, we could find no room in the front rank of the world's poetry for many of Shakspeare's plays.

Next comes the idea of "Decorum"—the classicist term for the quality of sanity in Literature. This results from the blend of two ideas—one, of propriety, to be found in Aristotle, and the other, of congruity, to be found in Horace. The idea, if properly used, would be helpful. It would bar out all that is extreme, violent, provincial (in Mathew Arnold's phrase). But the Elizabethans often caricatured the notion by carrying it to extremes. They insist on a decorum of form which does not admit too much work in a single poem. The principle forbids the Union of Tragedy and Comedy; it requires that speech must be in keeping with the speaker; it denounces the employment of extravagant metaphors—its arch exponent, Spratt, is a sinner in the opposite direction. In short, it embraces the classical love of form in all its entirety. The result is a distrust of individuality, a vehement insistence on congruity. Thus its usefulness is only partial.

Another conventional literary form of the Middle Ages was the allegory. Though non-poetic in nature it has clothed some of the best poetry in the language. It had its origin in the early morality plays, in which it helped to bring down the drama from relating the story of the saints to the humbler occupation of representing the virtues and vices of men. Thus it aided in the first step towards the humanizing of the English Drama. That was its only use; in other respects it vitiated the current of pure poetry. It ever intruded a moral on the tale. This moral allegory is found in the old Romances to their great detriment. It

is also found in Spenser, but in him it ceases to exist, it defeats its own purposes. Spenser's poetic instinct was too powerful to be bridled in by such melancholy considerations. In Tennyson in the nineteenth century it has exerted a baleful influence.

Lastly, there is the poetic diction of the eighteenth century. Its greatest vice is personification—generally in the manner of the ancients and *in their phraseology*. Its greatest opponent Wordsworth quotes Gray's famous "Ode on the death of Richard West" and vigorously condemns in it the trumpery of classical imagery about Phœbus, etc., as artificial and the expression of second-hand passion; hence as false poetry. So far he is quite just.* But he is wrong when he asserts that there is no difference whatever between the language of prose and the language of poetry. And when he tries to prove the validity of his belief, the result is a prosaic piece like "The Idiot Boy." He says the poet cannot improve on the language of ordinary men when they are deeply stirred, for according to him the poet can only imitate and not experience passion. This is essentially wrong, for it denies the poet a privilege which it accords to the ordinary man. And then, when he begins to defend his employment of metre, he loses himself in a morass of self-contradictions.

On the whole though the extravagance and unreality of the poetic diction of the eighteenth century must be censured, one must admit that poetry has its own chastened language.

Now we come to the third section of our theme—convention in expression. Conventions are, to a large extent, as you use them. They can be easily transformed into living vehicles of thought by him who can see to their core and grasp their essentials. Only the very greatest minds can express their ideas in an entirely original manner. To the rest there seems to be nothing new under the sun. To them the great words of the world *have been said*. They can only use the expressions

that the gifted ones have coined, to convey their meaning. They have to play their tunes on another's pipe. They are superior to the ordinary man in this respect that they can fashion the pipe to their tune and thus in a manner make it their own. In this connexion one may notice the extraordinary influence of the English Bible on the literature of the land. It informs the best thought of more than ten generations. Its haunting phrases have been so often used that they must be, strictly speaking, called a convention. But they have the extraordinary *power of association* which is the secret of language. This haunting quality has been partly given to the phrases by the rich and strange music of the verse. "The tents of Kedar" and "the cedars of Lebanon" bring to the mind a perfect picture in the background of which there crowds a train of memories sacred, sweet, sublime, to which the organ-chaunt keeps inspired time. The writer who appropriately conjures the Biblical halo over his thoughts in their most exalted state, unconsciously evolves a perfect phalanx of expression that can never be improved upon. I can perhaps make my meaning more clear with the aid of an example. Oscar Wilde has been, and justly, accused of affectation. But that is a taint that attaches to his earlier immature works which mark the decadence of the æsthetic cult. His "De Profundis" is a true work of Art, for it is inspired by profound, genuine *resigned* emotion. It is not the contemptible wail of the self-lover, nor the grumbling of the misanthrope. In it he truly opens the casement of his soul. And in its closing words he reaches the sublime. "Nature whose sweet rains fall on unjust and just alike will have clefts in the rocks where I may hide and secret valleys in whose silence I may weep undisturbed . . . she will cleanse me in great waters and with bitter herbs make me whole." So says the man who had the greatest contempt for people whose "fashions are a quotation." The fact is he was unconsciously influenced by the Bible.

Every phrase is reminiscent. The thought cannot break free from the sphere of association.

Or, if you like, take the case of Charles Lamb. His style is a very eclectic one to which Burton, Browne and Fuller have contributed their full measure. It is a curious medley, scarcely readable at times (as for instance, the essay on chimney-sweeps), but all the same delightful, quaint and original. Indeed Lamb would not be Lamb without his style. He himself speaks of his writings somewhere as "villainously pranked in an affected array of antique moods and phrases." But half of his charm would have been lost to us if he had used a more readable plain style. In fact he was so saturated with the spirit of the seventeenth century that he could express himself best only in its language—with always, of course, that indefinable something of Elia superadded. Thus, conventional expressions properly handled, correlates itself to the individual's necessity and is lifted above conventionality.

We have discussed in some detail the advantages and disadvantages of convention as a "substance" of Literature. We find that throughout, its benefits have been negative rather than positive, Classical rather than Romantic. It has generally acted as a useful restraint on the mettlesome intellect and imagination in all ages of mental curiosity. It is the living symbol of a cultured, slightly decadent society. And in some ages it has been the parent of *ennui*. But such ages have been fortunately and naturally few in the course of such progressive literature as the English; hence its good results too are somewhat limited. In a literature like the Sanskrit, its defects and merits alike are seen more clearly. In Sanskrit literature, unlike in the English, there is a very great difference between Art and Life. Literature to the ancient Hindu was a fairy region peopled at will by the poet's fancy. It was the idealist's asylum in which he sought refuge from the oppressive realities of life. Hence the great detachment

between the actual life of the poet and his imaginative aspirations. Except in the work of a few realists like Bhavabhuti you find the whole of Sanskrit literature to be but the reflex of the poet's mind in yearning. In the wonderful love-lyrics of Kalidasa you see its insatiable craving for the choice beauty of Nature, for blue and green and flowers and brooks and the songs of little birds, the scent of the musk-rose and the *champak*, or you see its eagerness for the perennial beauty of the Divine and its ardour to embrace it in a rapture of bliss. In such a dominant literature as the English you naturally find but little of this sweet passiveness, this lull of spirit. And so you must be all the more thankful for the stray sun-lit idylls that one occasionally comes across in the realm of Letters to the Spirit of Convention that rise like a purifying exhalation from the grave of a past age.

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Madras.

GERMAN THEORIES AND ENGLISH FACTS.

*A Comparison of the Points of View of Germany
and of England.*

BY EDWARD FARLEY OATEN.

YEAR after year Germany untiringly prepared for war ; then she deliberately brought it about ; and at the present day she is prosecuting it so vigorously in a contest against half the world that her casualties are reckoned by conservative estimators at one million, while more daring speculators place them at double that amount. These facts alone are sufficient to prove that the German people, or at least the German governing classes, have for a long time believed, and still believe, that a successful war is an overpoweringly cogent necessity for the future of the German race. It is proposed in this paper to discuss the origin and nature of some of the motives which made the Germans desire war, and to seek to discover how far, and to what extent justifiably, England stood in the path of German development.

It is necessary to remember first that the Germans have in the past been a great imperial race. The Holy Roman Empire was essentially a German Empire, and was ruled by a long line of famous kings of German birth to whom, in theory at least, the whole of central Europe gave its allegiance. Charlemagne, the Ottos, the Hohenstaufen Fredericks, and dozens of other great names of mediæval history came of Germanic stock. The Germans are proud, and rightly proud, of the great part which their race played in the transformation of Europe from its ancient to its modern form. They are apt, it is true, to slur over the fact that, brilliant though the history of the Holy

Roman Empire is, it is the history of a brilliant failure ; that in German hands the Empire passed from strength to weakness, and from that to greater weakness still, until the Empire became an absurd anachronism and Voltaire was justified in saying that the Holy Roman Empire was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. So opposed was it to all the strongest tendencies of modern Europe that Gustavus Adolphus and Louis XIV. were able to dismember it with the greatest of ease, and when finally Napoleon I. gave it a merciful *coup de grâce*, it was really a blessing in disguise, not only for the European peoples, whose development it had hampered, but for the German race itself, whose dreams of empire were now replaced by a saner and more practicable aspiration after nationality. So, therefore, though in seeking to understand the German political psychology we must remember their pride in their imperial history, it is important to bear in mind that the lesson of their history is that, as imperialists, the Germans failed in their task of welding Europe into one, and at the same time sacrificed their nationality in pursuit of a chimera.

For half a century after the great humiliation which Napoleon I. inflicted on the German people, the Germans laid aside their dreams of empire and sought to achieve their nationality. At Jena, and during the subsequent years, Napoleon made the Germans, and especially the Prussians, pass through the valley of the shadow ; but events proved that, though Germany had lost the whole world, she had at least gained her own soul, and the triumph over France which followed in 1814 and 1815 restored to the German peoples, led by Prussia and Austria, their own self-respect and the world's regard. There was no German unity as yet, but Prussia was in no uncertain fashion indicating that she meant to lead the German people into the desired haven of nationality. Then followed the futile attempts at union by debating society ;

finally blood and iron, with conquests over Denmark, Austria and France, accomplished that which discussion had failed to accomplish, but left behind two fatal legacies, the undying hatred of France and the Germans' overweening conceit of the strength of their military power.

After these three victories and the consolidation of German unity on the ruins of defeated neighbouring nations, arose two remarkable men—Nietzsche and Treitschke.

The basis of Nietzsche's thought was the doctrine of the two opposing moralities. Morality in his eyes was a weapon invented by one class of men to help them in the struggle for existence, or rather the struggle for power, against another class which possessed a different morality. The weak, the mean-spirited, and the cowardly, he said, invent a morality such as that of the Sermon on the Mount, in order to help them in their contest with the brave and warlike. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth." "Blessed are the poor in spirit." "Blessed are they that mourn." "Blessed are the peacemakers." "Love your enemies." Such was the morality invented by the weak and cowardly, and if only they could persuade the brave and warlike to accept that morality as their own, in place of their own conventions which gave the world to the strong, the weak and cowardly were safe, nay, they might even overcome the strong. But Nietzsche warned the strong against this morality. The future of the world depended on whether the cowardly could impose their coward's morality of mercy and pity on the strong men of the earth, or whether the brave and noble-spirited scornfully rejected this view of life and refused to allow it to restrain them from imposing their will on those weaker than themselves.

A brief extract from Nietzsche's code and catechism will illustrate this :—

"What is good? All that increaseth the feeling of power, will to power, power itself in man.

What is bad? All that proceeds from weakness.

What is happiness? The feeling that power increaseth, that resistance is overcome. Not contentedness, but more power; not peace at any price, but warfare; not virtue, but capacity.”*

Nietzsche looked boldly into the face of nature and defined life, as he saw it, as “appropriation, injury, conquest of the strange and weak, suppression, severity, obtrusion of one’s own forms, incorporation and exploitation.”

“Myself I would sacrifice to my design and my neighbour as well,—such is the language of creators. All creators, however, are hard.

Where in the world have there been greater follies than with the pitiful? And what in the world hath caused more suffering than the follies of the pitiful?

Woe unto all loving ones who have not an elevation which is above their pity.”†

Nietzsche reaches the conclusion that life is not a struggle for existence, but a struggle for power. Life is not mere activity, but Will to Power, a struggle to obtain power over other men and things.

This was heady doctrine for an intellectual people which had just swum through blood, through “appropriation, injury, conquest of the weak, severity, incorporation and exploitation” to the achievement of its national unity. Nietzsche did not tell the Germans that they were the super-men to whom he gave the right to dominate the world for its good; certainly the Prussians were the last people whom he would have chosen as such; but with their heads turned by their victories, and their material prosperity rising by leaps and bounds, they soon came to believe it. It therefore became their right, or rather their duty, to impose their will upon the world for the world’s own good.

Then came Treitschke to point the path for the new national super-men. “A time may come when states without overseas possessions will no longer count among

* *Antichrist*, Aphorism 2.

† Thus spake Zarathustra, p. 104.

the great states at all." "This Germany was once on a time the leading sea-power, and, please God, it shall become so again." Bernhardi, who is merely Treitschke and water, emphasized the need which Germany had of overseas possessions to serve as colonizing homes for Germans and sources of raw material and mutual trade.

"There is, however, a reverse side to this picture of splendid development. We are absolutely dependent on foreign countries for the import of raw materials, and to a considerable extent also for the sale of our own manufactures. We even obtain a part of our necessities of life from abroad. Then, again, we have not the assured markets which England possesses in her colonies. Our own colonies are unable to take much of our products, and the great foreign economic spheres try to close their doors to outsiders, especially Germans, in order to encourage their own industries, and to make themselves independent of other countries. The livelihood of our working classes directly depends on the maintenance and expansion of our export trade. It is a question of life and death for us to keep open our oversea commerce. We shall very soon see ourselves compelled to find for our growing population means of life other than industrial employment. It is out of the question that this latter can keep pace permanently with the increase of population. No remunerative occupation will ever be found within the borders of the existing German Empire for the whole population, however favourable our international relations. We shall soon therefore be faced by the question whether we wish to surrender the coming generations to foreign countries as formerly in the hour of our decline, or whether we wish to take steps to find them a home in our own German colonies and so retain them for the Fatherland. There is no possible doubt how this question must be answered. If the unfortunate course of our history has hitherto prevented us from building a colonial empire, it is our duty to make up for lost time, and at once to construct a fleet which in defiance of all hostile powers, may keep our sea communications open.

"Colonial possessions which merely serve the purpose of acquiring wealth are unjustifiable and immoral and can never be held permanently. But that colonization which retains a uniform nationality has become a factor of immense importance for the future of the world. It

will determine the degree in which each nation shares in the government of the world by the white race. It is quite imaginable that a country which owns no colonies will no longer count among the European Great Powers, however powerful it may otherwise be.”*

Treitschke and his disciples thus had a double fear, first that Germany's rivals holding so much of the earth's surface would crush her out of existence economically through their control of raw material and the world's markets; and, secondly, that, owing to their land possessions in temperate climates, England, Russia and France would develop enormous white populations during the coming century, while Germany, having no colonies suitable for European settlement, could never increase in the same proportion. In the twenty-first century a Germany of a hundred million souls might be living side by side with a Russia or an England, each possessing five hundred million white nationals. “The question whether we can also become an over-sea power concerns our existence as a great state. Otherwise there presents itself the ghastly prospect of England and Russia dividing the world between them; in which case one really does not know which would be more immoral and more appalling, the Russian knout or the English purse.”†

Treitschke, from whom this quotation is taken, goes on to talk of “the undoubted ludicrousness that lies in the nature of a small state.” The Germany of the nineteenth century would, he thought, relatively to England or Russia, be a small state and therefore ludicrous. Unless Germany did something heroic, mere lapse of time would be sufficient without any action on the part of her enemies to reduce her from her present noble greatness to what Treitschke considered would be a ludicrous smallness.

As a result of her great victories early in the second half of the nineteenth century combined with the intoxicating effect of the religion of valour preached by

* Bernhardt. *Germany and the Next War*, pp. 82, 83.

† *Selections from Treitschke's Lectures on Politics*. Trans. Gowans, p. 17.

Nietzsche, the Germans came to believe that they were a great race exerting far less than their proper influence in the world, and decided that it was not only their right but their duty to humanity to seize a greater share of the earth's surface from the less gifted races who occupied so much of it. Under the influence of Treitschke they learned that dominant sea power was a far more useful weapon for the purposes of international burglary than the dominant army which they already possessed. The great unoccupied spaces of America, of Africa, of Australia were quite free from the menace of their army. While he taught them this, Treitschke carried their vision forward into the future, and showed them Germany as a second or third-rate power by the side of the mighty empires of England and Russia. And so the Germans, filled with the philosophy of the will to Power, believing that they must impose their will on their neighbours, or else their neighbours would impose their will upon them, began to contemplate the possibility, or rather the desirability, of a war of aggression against their neighbours as a means of warding off the humiliating fate of which Treitschke warned them.

There is a significant passage in Mommsen's *History of Rome* which clearly exhibits this German point of view. In his description of the rivalry between the war party and the peace party in the Carthage of 241 B.C., he writes as follows :—

“When a war of annihilation is surely, though in point of time indefinitely, impending over a weaker state, the wiser, more resolute, and more devoted men,—who would immediately prepare for the unavoidable struggle, accept it at a favourable moment, and thus cover their defensive policy by offensive tactics,—always find themselves hampered by an indolent and cowardly multitude of money worshippers, of the aged and feeble, and of the thoughtless who wish merely to gain time, to live and die in peace, and to postpone at any price the final struggle. Thus there was in Carthage a party of peace and a party of war.”*

* Mommsen's *History of Rome*, Trans. Dickson, Vol. ii, p. 85.

Germany believed that such a war of annihilation, or if not that, a reduction to relative political mediocrity, which to her proud spirit would be worse than annihilation, was as assuredly impending over her as the destruction which overtook Carthage. Their more resolute and more devoted men, following the policy of the Carthaginian patriot Hannibal, prepared for what they considered the unavoidable struggle that they might accept it at a favourable moment and cover their defensive policy by offensive tactics. "We must aspire to the possible," said Bernhardt, "even at the risk of war. The longer we look at things with folded hands, the harder it will be to make up the start which the other powers have gained on us."*

In the midst of all this national egotism, what of international comity? What of the edifice of international so-called law which the nations have during the last three hundred years so painfully created as a restraining force upon themselves. Germany, led by Treitschke, repudiated the whole structure at every point where it came into conflict with the minutest German interest.

"This truth remains: the essence of the state consists in this, that it can suffer no higher power above itself. How proud and truly worthy of a state was Gustavus Adolphus' declaration when he said: 'I recognize no one above me but God and the sword of the victor.'"[†]

Treitschke also maintained the right of a state to repudiate its treaties whenever it found it convenient to do so.

"Every treaty is a voluntary limitation of the individual power, and all international treaties are written with the stipulation: *rebus sic stantibus*. A state cannot possibly bind its will for the future in respect to another state. The state has no higher judge above it, and will therefore conclude all its treaties with that silent reservation. This is vouched for by the truth that so long as there has been a law of nations, at the moment that war was declared, between the contending states all treaties ceased; but

* Bernhardt. *Germany and the Next War*, p. 85.

† Treitschke. *Selections*, p. 14.

every state has as sovereign the undoubted right to declare war when it chooses. Consequently every state is in the position of being able to cancel any treaties which have been concluded.”*

Treitschke naturally considers that courts of arbitration have no future in the world's history except in connection with insignificant disputes.

“And from this it is clear that the international treaties which restrict the will of the state are no absolute barriers, but voluntary limitations of itself. From which certainly follows, that the erection of an international court of arbitration as a permanent institution is incompatible with the nature of the state. Only in questions of the second or third importance could it in any case submit itself to such a court of arbitration. If we committed the folly of treating the matter of Alsace as an open question and entrusted it to an arbiter, who will seriously believe that he could be impartial? And it is also a matter of honour for a state to determine such a question itself.”†

Above all, the State is Power, as Machiavelli well understood, power for internal control, power for external offence. And whatever it judges it right for itself to do, is right. The State as one of its duties must administer the law and keep its citizens within bounds internally. The second essential function of the State is to make war. And Treitschke goes on to say that the long failure of Germany to appreciate this is a proof how effeminate the science of the State as treated by the hands of civilians had finally become. Peace, not war, is the curse of man.

“It has always been the tired, unintelligent, and enervated periods that have played with the dream of perpetual peace. However, it is not worth the trouble to discuss this matter further; the living God will see to it that war constantly returns as a dreadful medicine for the human race.”‡

The Germans therefore rejected in its entirety the pacifist theories which were such a feature of later

* Treitschke. *Selections*, p. 15.

† *Ibid*, pp. 15, 16

‡ *Ibid*, p. 25.

nineteenth and early twentieth-century English thought. In their eyes when England, under the influence of Norman Angellism, pleaded for international peace and disarmament, when she tried to soften the rigours of war and strengthen the bonds of peace by Hague Peace Conference legislation, she was trying to impose her coward's international morality upon the brave and warlike Germans. When England pleaded for a naval holiday in order that she might be able to devote some of the money wasted on ships of war to social improvements, Germany regarded it as a sign that England was fainting in the struggle. It is possible that some of them thought of Nietzsche's dictum: "This people have become smaller: the reason thereof is their doctrine of happiness and virtue. In their hearts they want simply one thing most of all: that no one hurt them. That, however, is cowardice though it be called virtue."*

Some of them also, it may be took up their Treitschke and read, "He who knows history knows also that it would positively be a mutilation of human nature if we tried to banish war out of the world."† And again, "The renunciation of its own power is for the state in the most real sense the sin against the Holy Ghost; to attach itself closely to a foreign state out of sentimentalism, as we Germans have often done with the English, is in fact a deadly sin."‡

And one or two of them, including Bernhardi himself, turned to the teaching of the Prince of Peace and justified their militarist gospel by his words: "I am not come to send peace on earth but a sword," thereby illustrating the old adage that for his purpose even the devil can quote scripture.

Germany learned from her historians and her ethnologists, from her material prosperity and her military successes, that the Germanic race was the greatest of all the world's races. She learned from Nietzsche that

* "Thus spake Zarathustra," p. 206.

† Treitschke. *Selections*, p. 104.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 14.

she need be bound by no scruples derived from Christian morality from asserting her individuality at the expense of her neighbours, nay rather she learned that it was her duty to humanity to spread German culture, on the assumption which most Germans accepted that their own culture was superior to other cultures. She learned from Treitschke that oversea possessions on a large scale were an absolute necessity for the future of the German race, and that they must be taken by means of sea power from England, America, or France. She learned also from him that the very existence of Germany as a great state was involved in this question, and that since this was so, she need be bound by no scruples derived from the mesh of law, created by states during the last three hundred years to bind each other's hands. And so in berserk spirit she faced the world, prepared as the event showed to fight the greater part of it if necessary in order to snatch by force of arms the confident assurance of a glorious future. Finally, after years of preparation, during which she was the storm-centre of Europe, she forced the great nations of Europe into a war which, with all their pacifist notions, they could avoid only at the expense of their honour and their highest interests.

In closing this attempt to view the war from the standpoint of Germany, it would be unfair to ignore the fact that her aims were not solely material. Power was not an end in itself, but a means to an end. Beyond the chaos of broken treaties, intriguing diplomacy, and fore-sworn faith—beyond the welter of blood-stained battlefields and seas crimsoned with gore, Germany descried a vision which led her constantly on from effort to effort. "Force, violence, or brute strength may be necessary to establish this dominion, but its ends are spiritual. The triumph of the empire will be the triumph of German culture, in religion, poetry, science, art, politics, and social endeavour, truth instead of falsehood in the deepest and gravest preoccupations of the German mind."

So much for German theories, which have plunged Germany and the greater part of the civilized world into a devastating war. Some of those theories are undoubtedly possessed of a certain cogency, and though the German people have always been, as Cobet put it, *doctiores quam saniores*, theorists bristling with facts rather than common-sense thinkers, the fair-minded critic will readily admit that the German case as believed in by them and as stated here, at least deserves an attempt at a reasoned answer. A detailed reply to the German contentions, involving an examination of the Russian, French, Dutch, Portuguese and American points of view—in fact of those of all nations possessing foreign colonies and dependencies—as well as of the English attitude toward German claims, is far too large a task to be attempted here ; but it is worth while to state a few insistent English facts which the impartial critic (if any such exists) may place by the side of the German theories. What was England's attitude in the face of German aspirations and how far was it justified ? In view of the German hatred of England, which has become such a feature of the present struggle, and the accusations of perfidy which have been so freely levelled at her as a result of her entry into the great war, it is desirable that there should prevail a clear understanding of England's point of view, so constantly expressed in her past and present policy, in the face of Germany's obvious intention to expand by military force.

The first great fact which stands out is the obvious truism that England has had in the past, and has now, no essential hostility to Germany's desire to expand, provided she does not injure England in the process. In 1864 England, unwisely from the point of view of her own interests, refrained from interfering on behalf of Denmark. In 1870 England contented herself with an assurance from both combatants that the neutrality of Belgium would not be infringed and left Prussia to expand at the expense of

France if she could. When a balance of power was created in Europe by the formation of the Triple and the Dual Alliances England stood aside in splendid isolation. During the closing decades of the nineteenth century Germany created for herself a splendid colonial empire, not one inch of which she could have acquired had England desired to prevent her. It was not England's fault that Germany understood her own interests so little as to prefer the little island of Heligoland to broad lands in East Africa. When too Germany turned her eyes eastward and south-eastward, where stood in the one case a mighty rival worthy of her strength, and in the other a decrepit empire falling rapidly to pieces, England placed no absolute veto on her expansion. Diplomatically, it is true, she tried to checkmate her schemes in Asiatic Turkey in so far as their success would have been detrimental to English interests, both political and commercial; but for some years the temper of England has been such that any attempt to take sides in the struggle between Teuton and Slav for the dominance of the Balkans would neither have been favoured by her diplomats nor would have received the support of public opinion. That that struggle must also involve France, owing to the fact that Germany had first lacerated the living body of that country by the annexation of her two lost provinces, and had since constantly tortured her by insult and pinpricks, was the keen regret of English statesmen, but was certainly no fault of England. Sir Edward Grey's statement to M. Cambon, on 29th July 1914, in answer to his and M. Sazonoff's expressed desire that England would declare solidarity with France and Russia, is an admirable illustration of England's attitude on this point.

“Even if the question became one between Austria and Russia, we should not feel called upon to take a hand in it. It would then be a question of the supremacy of Teuton or Slav, a struggle for supremacy in the Balkans ;

and our idea had always been to avoid being drawn into a war over a Balkan question.”*

If it came to war for the hegemony of the Balkans, Teuton and Slav might fight it out without interference from England.

But when Germany turned her eyes westward and began to contemplate an empire which included not only the shores opposite to England but an overseas dominion needing for its creation and maintenance a fleet rivalling or even superior to our own, the question was different. That empire might be created at the expense of France; this would need but a relatively small fleet and would not necessarily alarm us. But Germany speedily showed that she intended to create it either at the expense of the free Republics of South America, which would involve the Monroe Doctrine and need a fleet capable of defeating that of the United States, and therefore one which was capable of threatening us; or else at the expense of England, in which case the issue for us was clear. When she began to increase her fleet in obvious rivalry with our own, we had to ask ourselves for what purpose it was created. It was far larger than was necessary for the humiliation of France alone; Germany's endeavours to win the friendship of the United States showed that she had as yet no intention to challenge the Monroe Doctrine; and so by a simple process of elimination England found herself face to face with the fact that Germany's aspirations after sea power had one main object—the destruction of the British Empire.

One fact which Germany always studiously ignored was the utter dependence of Great Britain on sea power, not only for its greatness, but literally for its physical existence. This fact is a cardinal point on which the whole question must hinge. Had England been animated by the international principles, or rather lack of principles,

* *White Paper (Miscellaneous No. 6) Despatch No. 87.*

which Germany thinks it right to follow in her struggle for national power, she would long ago have deliberately picked a quarrel and destroyed the German fleet before it became a real menace. It is not at all certain that the bare principles of international law would not have justified her in such an act. Hall has a paragraph which sheds some light on this point :—

“The same right to continued existence which confers the right of self-development confers also the right of self-preservation, and a point exists at which the latter of the two derivative rights takes precedence of the duty to respect the exercise of the former by another state. If a country offers an indirect menace through a threatening disposition of its military force, and still more through clear indications of dangerous ambition or of aggressive intentions, and if at the same time its armaments are brought up to a pitch evidently in excess of the requirements of self-defence, so that it would be in a position to give effect to its intentions if it were allowed to choose its opportunity, the state or states which find themselves threatened may demand securities, or the abandonment of the measures which excite their fear, and if reasonable satisfaction be not given they may protect themselves by force of arms.” *

When Germany began to increase her fleet in obvious excess of her own naval requirements we refrained from the policy, which, as is clear from this paragraph, international law would not necessarily have condemned, of picking a quarrel with her in order to destroy it. But for our own safety we made efforts in two directions. We suggested to Germany that she and we alike should take a rest from shipbuilding and so ease the strain upon both of us. We also formed a defensive understanding with our nearest neighbour, France. How far this understanding was from being an aggressive alliance against Germany can be seen from the letter of Sir Edward Grey to M. Cambon of the 22nd November 1912.

“I agree that if either Government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third power or

* Hall's *International Law*, 6th Ed., p. 44. *

something that threatened the general peace, it should immediately discuss with the other whether both Governments should act together to prevent aggression and to preserve peace, and if so, what measures they would be prepared to take in common." *

In this agreement England committed herself to nothing more than the general policy of the maintenance of the *status quo* in the West. If this hampered the expansion of Germany at the expense of France, an expansion England had not opposed in 1870, it was due solely to the fact that Germany's policy threatened England and forced her to seek for allies. In taking her stand on the maintenance of the *status quo* England was only exercising in an extremely moderate form those rights of self-defence which all nations possess, and Germany had only herself to thank if her expansion, both in Europe and overseas, was thereby checked.

With regard to Germany's claim that her restricted geographical situation gives her far less influence in the world at present than she deserves, and will in course of time reduce her to a relatively second or third-rate power, what are the facts which England can adduce in reply? It is impossible to traverse the whole of the German argument; certain points of it undoubtedly possess cogency. There are no colonies in temperate regions possessed by Germany in which a great overseas population can grow up. But there does stand out the broad and immensely important fact that those countries which are specially open to German immigration, the United States, Australia, Canada and South Africa are all democracies. If to any one of these Germans emigrate in sufficient numbers, they can influence their adopted country immensely in matters cultural, as has already happened in the United States, while it is conceivable that in the more thinly inhabited colonies of England they might even in course of time come to exercise a political preponderance. Even to-day there exist in

* *Great Britain and the European Crisis*, p. 126.

Australia and Canada whole settlements that are German in race, language, and sympathy. It is conceivable also that an independent state or a British colony, into which a large influx of German settlers had taken place, would in the future be of as much value commercially and politically as any colony of purely German settlers could be; since the lesson of English, Portuguese and Spanish colonial experience is that oversea settlements of men of one's own race are not easily retained within the same political fold as the mother country. Germans have found no difficulty when they desired to emigrate to the United States or the British Colonies, nor has the fact that so much of the world's surface, especially India, is in British hands operated to their detriment in matters commercial. As regards the German fear that the future would see her a relatively second-rate power in daily danger of annihilation, the answer is that Germany herself was mainly to blame for the fact that in the twentieth century any power was threatened with annihilation. In the special circumstances of her own position she might have found it her noblest duty, and one at the same time most conducive to her own interests, to work with the better minds of Europe and America for the abolition of race hatreds, the federation of Europe, advocated by some as the only salvation of Europe from bankruptcy, or even for the United States of the World of which Victor Hugo dreamed. Instead of that, Germany, spurred by arrogant pride in her past and terror for her future, preferred to banish goodwill and good faith from among the nations, to poison such international morality as mankind was painfully creating, and to cause the whole fabric of European civilization to totter.

Another outstanding fact which England might bring to the notice of Germany, and which by her constant suggestions to Germany of a limitation of armaments she did practically place before her time after time, is the wasteful folly of the whole course of life which German

policy forced upon the nations of the world. The world in short cannot afford to pay so much for insurance purposes as, under the spur of the German danger, it has been paying for the last twenty years. Germany's action made it clear that any one power which is willing in the struggle for armaments to take the chance of bankruptcy can force the other nations of the world to approach the brink themselves. That sort of thing must somehow be prevented in future or strong states will find the offensive-defensive their only road to security in the face of weaker states, who in their desire to be strong are willing to spend a disproportionate amount of their wealth, thereby dragging their neighbours along their own bankrupt course. Add to this the fact that it is an imperative necessity for nations of the present day to face the tremendous problems to which the new industrial organization of Europe and America has given rise; that civilization *must* solve the problem of industrial poverty, or industrial poverty will destroy civilization; and the full measure of Germany's crime against civilization in compelling money and energy which should have been devoted to the tackling of that problem, to be dissipated in unproductive expenditure upon armaments, becomes evident. There has been no more obvious feature of the last decade of English politics than the profound earnestness with which English statesmen have approached this problem, and their equally profound disgust at the compulsion which was laid upon them by Germany to spend huge sums of money, which was badly needed for social legislation, on the construction of ships and guns. The annual drain of money caused the deepest irritation in the minds of the greater part of the English Cabinet; while the wasteful and crippling expenditure which the actual conduct of the present war demands has fixed them unequivocally in their determination not to lay down their arms until they have accomplished their purpose in such fashion as to render such an outrage on civilization impossible in the future.

England's answer to the violation of Belgium's neutrality was war. By that answer she told Germany what she thought of her new theory of the state. She showed Germany that Nemesis does not always spare crime merely because it is national. In flat negation of German theory England asserted that Treitschke was wrong; that there is something higher than the state, the public opinion of the world. For the present England, France and Russia constituted themselves the agents of that public opinion, but they looked forward to a time when adequate expression might be given to the collective might of the world in a newer and more rational "Holy Alliance." England, so fortunately situated that the right was also her interest, drew her sword from the scabbard in an attempt to save the world from the successful consummation of doctrines which threatened the world with anarchy and lapse into barbarism. A holy taboo *shall* be created as to certain things which honourable states, like honourable men, do not do; and unprovoked aggression based on long views of the future, which may or may not be right, shall be one of these things. If we cannot have *right* in international relations, if the term in its application to international relations is too difficult to define, nations which do not desire war shall at least be able to find a refuge in legality.

"If I am asked what we are fighting for, I reply in two sentences. In the first place, to fulfil a solemn national obligation, an obligation which if it had been entered into between private persons in the ordinary concerns of life, would have been regarded as an obligation not only of law but of honour, which no self-respecting man could possibly have repudiated. I say secondly we are fighting to vindicate the principle which in these days when force, material force, sometimes seems to be the dominant influence and factor in the development of mankind, we are fighting to vindicate the principle that small nationalities are not to be crushed in defiance of international good faith, by the arbitrary will of a strong and overmastering Power."*

* *Great Britain and the European Crisis*, p. 142.

In these great words, destined to become historical, Mr. Asquith gave to the world as a possession for all time a clarified expression of our English point of view, and thereby rejected with scorn the German theory that nations are in the position of gladiators toward one another, seeking each other's destruction. And in this utterance of her greatest statesman England showed herself the true leader of the world's culture, despite Germany's eternal mouthing of the word. Even as the classical warrior made a solitude and called it peace, so Germany's view of the relationship of state to state would make of the world a desert and a shambles and call it Culture. Just as in the sphere of municipal law the community is greater than the individual, and ruthlessly expels or destroys any man who sets its laws at utter defiance ; so in the sphere of international relations the human race is greater than any particular race ; and in future it shall be only at the direst peril of utter annihilation that any particular race shall seek to rob the world of the ages' slow-bought treasure of admitted and universally recognized international principle, which in the intercourse of nations is all that distinguishes civilized states from those brigand communities of the past whose sole merit it was that they were faithful to their leader in their marauding excursions, though treacherous and terrible to all around them.

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THE RELATIONS BETWEEN INDUSTRY AND SCIENCE.

BY DR. JOHN WATT.

THE dearth of news from the battlefields of Europe has been in part made up for by a great deal of writing in the press as to how the commerce and industry of our enemies can be captured and retained when the war is over. Many of the articles are obviously written with little knowledge or thought, but, on the other hand, many bring home to us with force and clearness wherein we have come short and why we have had to give place to our rivals. In scientific magazines the subject has been keenly discussed for years, but, in Great Britain, with comparatively little result. Some might suggest that this statement is too strong, that they can point to not a few leaders of industry who have been scientifically trained, who not only know their manufacturing processes from bottom to top, but had a thorough scientific training before they entered on their apprenticeship. The writer recalls a case in point. Some years ago a shipbuilding business built up by a shrewd Scotchman was handed over to his two sons who had received a thorough University training in engineering, after which one of them took up his apprenticeship as a builder of ships, the other of marine engines, in another shipyard. There is not a doubt that that yard has greater activity and prosperity to-day because of the wider outlook which these two men got through their higher scientific training; but my point can be made clear when I state that these men are now captains of industry and have no time to use their scientific knowledge as they might have done had they devoted themselves exclusively to it. If they are to prove that they believe in the necessity for a close relation

between industry and science they must employ experts who will have time and freedom to make their suggestions and discoveries.

Of all the countries taking a large part in the world's commerce and manufactures I am convinced that ours lays least stress on the need for the scientific expert. The reason is not far to seek. We have been able to say that we have in the past got on very well without him, that we stand to-day an example of what can be done by push, commonsense and certain other qualities which it hardly becomes us to speak about. Far be it from me to call in question the sterling qualities of our workmen and our merchants, but we slump things together that should be separated.

As one item conspiring to the success of our country take the example of some of its great discoverers. James Watt and those who worked with him in improving the steam engine were scientific experts, were tireless in experiment, even when we might suppose their whole energies employed in the routine work of the workshop. If we read the lives of these engineers we find that some of them were most remarkable men—remarkable for their genius and for their endless energy—but we also find that in those days men did not need to specialize as they must do to-day if they are to advance knowledge and practice, and that they had the time which we do not have. The conditions of to-day demand the specialist alongside the routine worker, and, it may be, more than one specialist.

There is another item in our country's progress and success which should be carefully remembered. To understand it we should have to study its political history, but it can be put very briefly by saying that we were first in the field. We have reason to be proud of this, for it was due to our institutions and to certain of those national qualities that were gained at no small price. It is impossible to estimate the advantage of being first in the field, and we used it to the full. Fortune favoured us in a marvellous way. For example, in 1860 the United States competed freely with us

for the carrying trade of the world ; the war of the Secession came, and at the end of it, partly* by foul means (Alabama case), but chiefly by fair, our ships carried the world's oversea traffic.

I might mention other great initial advantages, but I select only the fact that we possessed in our compact little island enormous treasures in the shape of coal and iron—the very* staples of all industry and manufacture. We have used these in the most lavish—nay wasteful—fashion, and by means of them we have reached a great position in the world to-day. Some of the ablest men of science have been warning us against the incalculable waste of our country's greatest asset—its coal. They tell us that we possess no unlimited quantity of it, that, in fact, it can be reckoned how many tons of it can be mined with profit and the length of time which these tons will last at the rate of increase of the present day. All this has been known for years, also that our use of coal in our grates and for the production of steam is most wasteful. In the best steam engines the percentage of waste of the calorific value of the coal is great. One can fancy how it is in poorer engines. In grates used for heating houses most of the heat goes up the chimney. In the face of all this, only sporadic attempts have been made to discover an engine which will utilize fully the value of the coal, and every law passed to prevent a little of the waste is vigorously opposed. If one wishes to convince and persuade one's readers to take up a new line of action, it is generally unwise to draw comparisons that offend and hurt. To many it is as a red rag to a bull to speak of German and Austrian methods in manufacture and progress, and I am not sure, unless in the unthinkable event of their complete victory in the present war, that we shall ever be any more willing to learn from them. Unfortunately I cannot avoid comparisons with these countries because it is in regard to the industries in which they excel that I have most interest and experience.

As I have already said, much has been written of late in a general way about capturing the enemies' trade, and it may be that in some departments there are manufacturers ready to step in and fill the blanks, and continue to fill them even when Germany and Austria attempt to regain their places. But there are whole regions of commerce where the manufacturers of these countries have been meeting demands that no British manufacturer at present can meet. While the war lasts, buyers may have to be satisfied with what they can get, but as soon as possible they must return to the former suppliers unless the goods that they require are to be prepared in Britain. This is not a matter of patriotism at all, but of sheer necessity and commonsense. The other day I received from a London firm a notice containing the following sentence: "It is a well-known fact that a very large proportion of the scientific apparatus used in British technical laboratories and schools is of German origin and much of it is of inferior quality." I have no doubt Germany can produce apparatus of poor quality just as Britain can, but I say with confidence that so long as manufacturers and merchants hold the view expressed in the above sentence, Germany will gain on us hand over hand. The sentence, it may be noted in passing, involves the obvious truth that the buyers are fools, and they are the fellow-countrymen of the writer of the notice. Let me take two examples of what the above advertiser referred to. The most of the better glass used for laboratory purposes is made in Germany or Austria. These countries easily lead for quality and price. England had the lead in flint glass, but lost it long ago. It is a well-known fact that in the glass factories of these countries there are two classes of chemists, who form as necessary a part of the staff as the workmen or the managers themselves. The different glasses are produced to certain standards, and the routine chemists, testing every batch, see to this. But every factory of any standing

has its research chemists whose work it is to get to the very bottom of all things connected with glass, to explain deviations from standard, to discover new and better glasses and to devise better methods. It is not cheapness nor advertisement nor the help of German banks that has given Bohemian and other kinds of glass a name, the manufacturers are reaping the benefits of several decades of scientific work that they have carried out in their own works. If our British manufacturers are prepared to follow in their footsteps they will assuredly be able to compete with them—but not during the war—it will take years to gain lost ground. The same is true, I believe, of the electrical works in Germany, where electrical engineers are employed by the hundred thousand, not merely to make and to test, so as to make sure that every item is up to standard, but as experts whose sole work it is to devise and to plan better and ever better methods. It is galling to learn that a great industry in which the country of Lord Kelvin should surely have continued to have a leading part, has been gradually so concentrated in Germany that when the war broke out orders were given at once in Behar and Orissa to close down all mica works. The chief use of our Indian mica is in electrical work, and Germany evidently took most of the Indian supply.

Perhaps the best example of a need created and met by these Continental countries is seen in the chemicals for our laboratories. We in India generally, I fancy, use an English firm to supply and forward our orders, and, of course, in the case of the ordinary materials where no special purity or freedom from particular impurities is required, the products of British factories are asked for and sent. But, as a matter of fact, the number of such is diminishing every year. In many of our chemicals we now demand a certain standard of purity, the guaranteed absence of certain impurities, and for such chemicals the English firms have to go

to Germany. The name of Merch in this connection is known in every laboratory throughout the world, not by advertisement—I have never seen an advertisement by the firm—but as a firm sending out guaranteed goods on which we can depend. It would be an easy thing for British firms to follow suit in this line and prove, by their thorough standardizing work, that they are willing to meet new demands and able to hold their own. It would not be perhaps so easy as to snarl at successful rivals, but it would certainly be more manly.

It would not be so easy because it would mean giving up conservative methods and traditions, and keeping a mind open to outside information, especially the information to be got from men who have specialized in chemistry and engineering. It is our custom to think of the man who has had a university training in Science, followed by a course in a technological school or college, as being too little practical and therefore having nothing to tell practical men. Other countries differ from us in this respect and have gained on us through utilizing these men—are we ready to follow their example?

I have already spoken of our valuable deposits of coal as explaining to some extent the start which we secured in the industrial race in the world and commented on our wasteful usage of this great asset. A brief study of the history of the uses to which coal has been put, although an often-told story and one that is in its later stages peculiarly distasteful to British ears, will show the value of the scientific expert in the evolution of industry. The first and most wasteful stage in the use of coal is where the raw material is used for domestic purposes and for providing a supply of steam for our inefficient steam engines. For certain purposes it was discovered that coke was more useful than coal itself, and for generations coke was prepared in such a way as to waste the gases and other products and create a nuisance in the neighbourhood. It was a great advance when these gases were utilized for lighting purposes—

a distinct advance in economy to be able to use both coke and gas. The gas manufacturer was, however, troubled by certain impurities in his gas, which were none too easy to remove. These were the coal-tar liquors, the ammonia, and the sulphur compounds. Parliament had to pass laws compelling the manufacturer to remove these before issuing his gas for sale. To a practical chemist nowadays this sounds much the same as if strong measures had to be taken to prevent a man from pelting his neighbours with handfuls of sovereigns. The sulphur, which the hard hand of the law compels him to eliminate from his gas, can be removed by a very simple device of the chemists, and this sulphur now forms one of the chief sources of the element for the manufacture of sulphuric acid. The ammonia is still more easily removed and for long was invaluable for cold storage purposes. Ammonia, however, is now much less extensively used for this purpose, so the chemist converts it into ammonium sulphate, a very valuable manure. And what are we to say about the by-product—the coal-tar liquors? Not much to our British credit certainly! “The way to the vast and lucrative industry of the manufacture of dyes from coal-tar was shown by the researches of our fellow-countryman the late Sir W. Perkin. Our country has failed to reap the rich harvest of this industry because of the mistrust of science so typical of many of our commercial men. They would not support the infant industry and it passed to German manufacturers, advised by their chemists. To-day practically all dyes are built up from coal-tar products by chemical processes. One by one the natural colours have been imitated, and—save in India—dyes of vegetable and animal origin have fallen into desuetude. This is not all, for, slowly but surely, the chemist has built up the complex science of the dye-stuffs that permit of his producing the most subtle differences in shade and a range of colour undreamt of in the days of natural dye-stuffs.”

In 1899 the value of the imports of coal-tar dyes into Britain was £708,797, in 1912 it had risen to £1,818,575 and these dyes were mostly obtained from Germany. The value of the exports from Great Britain on the other hand have remained stationary during these years at about £200,000.

Our continental neighbours, in carrying out this great industrial work, have spent millions on experiments ; there have been many failures, but, in a very real sense in chemistry, a failure is frequently the starting-point towards success. The manufacturers have a firm faith in science and in specialists in science, and to-day they have their reward. It is commonly said that the German firm Baeyer spent three-quarters of a million before they were able to produce artificial indigo on a manufacturing scale. The substance from which it is obtained,—naphthalene, well known to us in India, gave much trouble as an impurity in their processes. They required to oxidize it freely in order to produce indigo and experienced great difficulty in doing so. The story goes—it may be a fable—that a thermometer used in the process broke and in the presence of the escaping mercury the oxidation rapidly took place. There are happy hits of this sort, but they come naturally to those who spend their lives searching for them and are able to use them when they come. One might fill pages in telling of the valuable materials obtained from the coal-tar by-products of the gasworks. They are used as disinfectants. Carbolic acid gives us an endless list of valuable drugs and food preservatives. We get salicylic acid and aspirin from coal-tar, creosote and pitch also, and it is not unlikely that from it we may yet obtain a convenient fuel.

This page describing what wonders chemists have worked with the by-products of coal is but one of many from the history of the effect of chemistry and expert chemists on Industry. And Chemistry is but one science among several that must freely influence our position in the commercial world,

I find that scientific men have some reason for saying that, owing to our negative attitude to science, during the past twenty years new processes, inventions, and developments are all from abroad. They give as examples motor cars, wireless telegraphy, aeroplanes, the Diesel engine. This is certainly a striking list, and although we might set off certain inventions of our own in the same period, they form a small number compared with the above. We have definitely to recognize that our early advantages help us little now and that we must examine, each one of us, wherein we can avail ourselves of the assistance of science, in our own business, in our own sphere of life. The British manufacturer sometimes refuses to take this step, thinking that the research chemist or engineer is a luxury which he cannot afford. His German rival has not thought so and has proved that his method is correct. We are told that it not infrequently happens in engineering workshops that valuable machines, while in perfect working order, are scrapped because of the possibility of replacing them by recently discovered improvements that render new machines more efficient. The gain is greater than the loss, hence there is here no hesitation. I hold strongly that the necessity of science for industry is also a business proposition, and that the truth of it has been abundantly proved.

It may be more difficult to say how we are to apply it here in India, and we must always remember that even in Great Britain there is no large supply of first-class men for such posts as may at first be opened to them. So long as there is little demand, good men are not likely to add several years of a costly technological education to the pure science training of a university. In Germany there are openings in works by the hundred, and first-class men to fill them are forthcoming. Given such a demand in Britain we should assuredly find the fitting men.

JOHN WATT,

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THE COBBLER OF SOISSONS.

BY MARGARET CUNNINGHAM.

YANNIK HELARY, with whom the first part of this story is concerned, was the son of an inn-keeper in the village of Lescoff, near the Pointe-du-Raz, in Brittany. The inn was a white-washed building, bearing across its whole front in straggling black letters the legend :

“Aujourd’hui pour argent ; demain pour rien.”

Inland stretched fields and orchards, and on the other hand the sea, a wild cruel sea in winter, when through the long night the wind howls and the “crierien” or sobbing of the lost souls of the drowned is clearly heard. On such nights it was good to be indoors and see the firelight playing on the polished oak of the cupboards and settles of the inn-kitchen, and to creep round the cheerful glow and tell tales to pass away the time. Strange tales were told and re-told ; stories of Mary Morgan, the Sea Fairy ; stories of the Breton saints, St. Yves, St. Corentin, and the rest ; grim stories of churchyards and “revenants” and apparitions.

The inn had few guests, but once a year, at the end of October, Pierre Cornic, a devout, mild faced little man, a Breton merchant who had settled in Normandy, returned to Lescoff to visit his mother’s grave, during those days sacred to the dead. At night he too would join the circle and listen with delight to the old Breton tales.

One night a recent story was told—a story of how a peasant woman of Tregonnec, who lost her way upon the moors, had been guided back to safety by seeing always just before her two shining footprints which she believed to be the footprints of St. Yves.

“Ah, Pierre,” said Yannik’s father, “you have no such saints in Normandy.”

Pierre shook his head.

"And yet," he said, smiling at little Yannik, who sat on the floor beside him, listening, "I also will tell you a story. I will tell you a story of St. Crispin of Soissons, who is, you know, the patron saint of shoemakers."

Then he began at the beginning, and told how, in the time of Diocletian, two high-born Roman brothers, Crispin and Crispinianus, who had become Christians, came to northern France to spread the story of the Gospel, and of how they settled in the city of Soissons—then Suessiona—and noble as they were, earned their living as shoemakers, while they taught and made converts of the people. Then he told of the dreadful persecutions meted out to them, but how they seemed to bear charmed lives; how they walked through fire, and how when St. Crispin, with a millstone tied about his neck, was flung into the River Aisne, he swam safely to the other side. But at last, when Heaven suffered it, the martyrdom of St. Crispin was accomplished on 25th October A.D. 287—the day ever after remembered as "St. Crispin's Day." "But that," said Pierre, "is not all of my story." And then he told them how in 1870 there were many sick, wounded and destitute at Soissons, and after only a three days' siege, the town was taken by the Prussians. And at that time there was living in a forest near Soissons, a hermit who had laboured much for the poor, and who had a great gift of healing. But he was very old and had lost the power of his limbs. And when one came and told him of men dying among the hills, with their wounds undressed, their thirst unquenched, and their souls unshriven, he turned his face to the wall in his little wooden hut and wept, for he could do nothing to help them. All that night he lay weeping, and praying, crying, "Oh, if my feet would but serve me, as they once did, should I not be swift to run to the help of those in such sore need? . . . Even for one day, O Lord . . . So might I depart in peace." And at that he heard a knocking at the

door of his hut, and when he had cried "Come in," a tall man stood there, in the grey of the dawn, dressed in workmen's clothes, and having a basket filled with shoemaker's tools on his back. And when he had greeted the hermit, he said :

"I hear, father, that you are going on a brave mission to-day. You are going to seek out the suffering on the heights above Soissons."

"My heart goes there," said the hermit, "but my feet"

Then the cobbler set down his basket, and from it drew a pair of shoes, and said :

"Put on these, father, which I have brought for you, and then we will go together."

And the hermit, who before had always gone bare foot, put on the shoes, and no sooner had he done so than he felt he had strength to stand up, and he walked, and he and the cobbler went out together, as the morning sun was coming through the trees. And no one assaulted them, and all day they went from place to place, and by some strange instinct the cobbler led always to the places where help was most needed. The hermit felt assured it was no common workman who was going with him, and when evening came and the stranger said that he must leave him, he begged first to know who he was. Then the stranger said :

"I am Crispin, and on this day, centuries ago, as you count time, I received my crown of martyrdom. And once a year, on the day on which I am remembered, I am permitted to return to the land where I lived and worked, and where I find one who is struggling to do a deed of courage, generosity, or honour, to him I give my help." Then he vanished, and the hermit felt his strength begin to ebb, but he lived to tell the story, and that night there were many among the wounded and the sick who blessed St. Crispin, though indeed they had not seen him, but thought that the hermit was toiling among them alone.

Pierre Cornic ceased speaking and Yannik's round eyes dwelt on him, still eager for more. 'From the first the story had interested him, for only the week before his mother had taken him to François Kergonn, the village shoemaker, and bought him a pair of shoes to wear on Sundays. He was very proud of them, all the more because, not being used to wearing shoes, they hurt him a good deal. He would have liked to ask Pierre Cornic whether St. Crispin had long black hair, like François, and whether he had a worn leather apron and tattoo marks on his arms.

"The people of Soissons must be proud to tell of their Saint and their good hermit," observed Yannik's mother.

But Pierre Cornic sighed.

"Alas," he said, "in France this is the age of unfaith. When you enter Soissons, in the Place de la Republique, you will see a monument to the men who were shot by the Prussians in 1870. But you will see no monument to the hermit, and except by a few, the story is forgotten."

"When I go to Soissons," said Yannik, "I will tell them."

* * * * *

Yannik was nine years old when he heard the story of St. Crispin. Twelve years passed and once again France and Germany are at war. Yannik, summoned to his regiment, said good-bye to his father and his mother, and went off down the long white road with some of his comrades, not daring to look back till the old white-washed building was well out of sight. It still bore the legend: "Aujourd'hui pour argent," but there was precious little of that; "demain pour rien" seemed much the greater certainty.

At the end of a wet September day he and his fellows were encamped on a wooded slope near Sermoise, above Soissons. On one side lay the valley of the little River Vesle, which, swollen with the rain, flowed down to join the Aisne—the Aisne across which lay the enemy. During

days and nights they had marched, with the minimum of rest, and now even the screaming of shells and the roaring of the guns could scarcely avail to keep sleep from men who had too long been fighting their fatigue. But many were awake and alert, ready to respond to the call to move forward at dawn, and some of them were telling stories. There was one soldier who had seen service in Morocco, whose tales were eagerly listened to; when one is cold and wet, sun and colour and even the hot glow of desert sands are good to think of. Others told tales of cities and the varied life from which they had come. Yannik alone felt that he had nothing to contribute. Life is not an eventful thing at Lescoff. Then he remembered having heard that somewhere below, not far from them, lay the town of Soissons, and suddenly his thoughts went back to an evening twelve years before. And he told the story of St. Crispin.

Among his listeners it chanced that there was an English despatch rider, a motor cyclist. Those who knew him in England, as an immaculate young person, fresh from an English University, would not have recognized him as he sat there, wet through and covered with mud like the rest, waiting for the despatches he was to take back to Paris.

"St. Crispin,—St. Crispin's Day . . ." as he searched his memory to trace the association which made the name familiar, recollections of English literature lessons at Eton came back.

"It was upon St. Crispin's Day"

The Battle of Agincourt! Of course, that was it. And then again came brokenly, some lines from *Henry V.*

This day is called—The Feast of Crispian . . .
 He that outlives this day and comes safe home
 Will stand a-tip-toe when this day is named
 And rouse him at the name of Crispian . . .
 Then will he strip his sleeve, and show his scars,
 And say, These wounds I had on Crispin's Day . . .
 And gentlemen of England, now abed,
 Shall think themselves accursed they were not here,
 And hold their manhood cheap, while any speaks
 That fought with us upon St. Crispin's Day . . .

Yannik's story made an impression. He told it with conviction, and finding it well received, felt a little of that glow which we all feel when others accord us an increased degree of interest. He, usually very silent, had been spokesman, and even the Morocco-bronzed hero had heard him with approval. He imagined himself describing the scene to his father and mother, and perhaps to Yvonne Perigot when he got back to Lescoff. And then—such is war—not two hours after, upon the march at dawn, there came a screaming shell, and in a manner too swift even for suffering, Yannik gave up his spirit, and his body lies now where he fell, on the heights above the Aisne.

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For nearly six weeks after that day, which marked the beginning of the "Battle of the Rivers," the English despatch-rider travelled scatheless. Six thrilling weeks of such events as would have filled six years of life in England with excitement in full measure, and could have supplied newspapers with much sensational "copy"—only where one permits oneself no indiscretion, no boasting, and no grumbling, words are necessarily few.

It was one day towards the end of October, when the leaves were falling thickly on the once dry white roads, that, again not far from Soissons, he received what seemed his crowning mission—to carry news which, if it could be swiftly acted upon, might change the whole current of events. In British newspapers "The Battle for the Coast" filled the headlines. But those in the fighting line knew the Aisne still to be important—how important later history may show. Of daily happenings in the general theatre of war our despatch-rider had scanty knowledge, but he knew the importance of his present mission, and his pulses thrilled with it. For the most part he did his work very unemotionally; there was no time to *feel*; such and such things had to be done. But to-day the frosty air, the danger always present, and his own swift motion—"no speed limit!"—had a great enchantment. "Victory"—

that was the word that seemed written on the road in front of him. The evening red and gold of the woods painted it ; the wind meeting him sang it . . .

Only forty miles to cover now. But—that was a close shave!—just as well that dusk was coming on. To ride with no lamp would be best, but it is not easy to ride in the dark on a road where “Black Marias” have been busy. He dismounted, and walked under the shadow of some trees, to strike a light and take counsel from his map . . . It was just then that it happened. The thing that had nearly happened, scores of times before. A shell fell and exploded ; there was a roar and blaze of petrol ; a red-hot pain through his right foot that left him sick and dazed . . . Slowly the truth broke on him. His bicycle, his precious “Triumph” that had been his friend through countless journeyings in these past weeks, lay there a hopeless wreck. For himself, his right foot was helpless, and the boot that had covered it, which had been life glistening in a Bond Street window, was ripped up. He clutched at the despatches ; they were safe, and although he felt giddy and faint, his brain was quite clear. Had he not dismounted just then, he would have met the same fate as the “Triumph.” But he was alive, and his hands were fingering the message he had to deliver . . . He bound up his foot in the dark, and using his rifle as a crutch, set out to hobble painfully along the road on which he had whirled like the wind before. Sometimes he crawled upon hands and knees. He strained his ears for some sound which might mean that some comrade with the blue and white arm-badge was overtaking him, but none came.

A hundred yards perhaps,—and it seemed to have taken hours. Stick in, and make that tree there,—now that bit of paling. Try to think it all an immense joke ; jolly silly one must look, crawling, and then hopping, and then crawling again,—sort of thing one does to

amuse the children . . . There are many ways of crawling. "Eight and sixty ways," perhaps, but every single one of them is—slow! . . . He kept on doggedly, but gradually he realized that he was listening less acutely to sounds around or behind him. He was in such pain, so utterly tired, that whatever happened did not seem to matter very much. Everything was getting . . . further away . . . Ah! Must have been another shell ploughed up the road there. Up again,—and on . . . But the next time he did not get up. Instead he seemed to himself to be slipping, slipping, to an infinite depth, down, down. He had lost consciousness.

How long he lay there he did not know. But when he came to himself, the night was still dark. Yet,—something was different. He had been dreaming—was he still dreaming?—or was it what happened before that had been just a dream? He could go on again now. There was moonlight too. He heard himself saying "Thanks, it's all right now," as if in answer to some question. He stood, leaning on his rifle, and looked down at his feet. And suddenly he seemed to see quite distinctly that he was wearing a pair of white tennis shoes he had left in England. Queer thing, that, but anyway, they were just what he wanted. Canvas hurts nobody—nice and soft and easy . . . He stepped out bravely, thinking of green lawns at home . . . *Were* they his tennis shoes though? They had quite another look now—nothing flimsy about them. Boots!—shooting boots." Just the thing to do a long stiff tramp in. Before his eyes there seemed to spread a great stretch of heather-covered moor; he could feel the spring of it under his feet. On and on! . . . Yet the best of thick boots get heavy, distinctly heavy, when you have done some miles in them.

Heavy? Nonsense! And then he laughed aloud. When did shooting boots ever have that glistening black polish? . . . Dancing pumps of course. And at the very thought, delicious scraps of melody came floating through

his brain—the catchiest of ragtime tunes you could not help stepping out to.

“Gentlemen of England,—gentlemen of England,—gentlemen of England, now abed”

He was not sure these were the words, but they went to it. On and on, round the room, and back again . . . On and on

It was a wonderful tune ; he was still moving to it, when they met him, two other despatch riders, brothers of the blue and white ensign, coming from an opposite direction. He looked a strange haggard figure in the cold light of the early morning, muddy and blood-stained, utterly exhausted. Yet they could scarcely persuade him to let them turn back and take him with them, for he was light-headed, and obsessed with an absurd idea that he was wearing a giant’s seven-league boots, and that they “fitted him exactly.” And he babbled of St Crispin’s Day—which indeed it was—Sunday, 25th October—but of that the others had remembered nothing. They settled it that one of the riders went alone upon his way, but the other turned back to headquarters with his new burden,—and an hour later the important despatches were delivered—late, but not too late. And as a result, there was a brief official *communique* two or three days after: “In the Aisne district we have made progress on the heights on the right bank below Soissons”

When the wreck of the “Triumph” was found, the distance between it and the place where our traveller was picked up gave rise to some comment. The doctor in the hospital looked at the injured foot and shook his head. Impossible ! Somebody must have miscalculated. The thing simply could not have been done. With one foot helpless !

His patient suddenly opened his eyes and smiled into the kind face of a French nurse bending over him.

“It was all right,—after I got my boots on,—shoes they were, I think It was . . . the Cobbler, you

know. He did it ” The nurse looked down pitifully.

“ Mon enfant,” she bent to say, “ it was your own courage only,—there has been no Cobbler ”

But something checked her. We have Allies seen ; have we not also Allies unseen ? Who knows ?

MARGARET CUNNINGHAM.

ROBERT SCHUMANN.

BY REV. J. D. SINCLAIR.

IF we take a quite general and summary view of the history of modern music, we may conveniently divide it into a very few periods, each with its characteristic masters. In the period of Bach and Handel, the first half of the eighteenth century, music was either vocal or else, being instrumental, was confined to the forms of vocal music or to the simplicity of dance-measures. In the next period, that of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, covering the latter half of the eighteenth century and reaching in Beethoven well into the nineteenth, instrumental music was developed to a quite new freedom and fullness of expression; it was written in forms that suggest neither voice-parts nor dance-measures, and the sonata, the characteristic product of that time, was a new and supremely great thing in music. The next group of masters may be said to consist of Schubert, Mendelssohn and Schumann, whose work was done in the first half of the nineteenth century. I group them so, although Schubert's short life was contemporary with the later years of Beethoven, because they have all three one great distinction and glory as compared with all who went before them, that they were great song-writers. They made the song a far more flexible and intimate and beautiful expression of feeling than it had ever been before. Their genius—though this is much more true of Schubert and Schumann than of Mendelssohn—is essentially lyrical; that is, they chose a single mood, or a single idea, or a single picture, or a simple story, and they gave to it the most complete and effective musical expression they could extract from voice and instrument together, using the utmost liberty in devising new forms to suit each new subject, so

as to convey as perfectly as possible just that mood, or that idea, or that picture, or that story, or rather the colour and character of it. The other two very great and very diverse masters who were contemporary with this group, Chopin and Wagner, do not properly belong to it. Chopin, in spite of the highly lyrical character of his work, is not among the great song-writers ; and Wagner's operas really belong to a different and later development—they were “ the music of the future.”

Robert Schumann's father was a bookseller of Zwickau in Saxony, whose bookselling was not merely his trade but also his profession, as he chose it and held to it through considerable difficulties on account of his broad and sincere love of literature. The bookseller's wife has been described as “ a person of an eminently practical disposition ; entirely lacking in imagination, she was much addicted to that kind of romantic sentimentality which is found in its perfection only in minds of a thoroughly commonplace type.” We shall find both his father's culture and imagination and his mother's soft, romantic nature in the composer. He was born in 1810, when Beethoven was a man of forty and was writing his greatest music and when Schubert was a boy of thirteen. His father put him to music-lessons as a child.

Afterwards Schumann told of an incident of that time of his life which illustrates very vividly one aspect of his nature as we afterwards come to know him ; how at midnight in a dream he stole down with closed eyes to the old piano in the house and played some chords on it, crying bitterly. In contrast with that we have another true prophecy from his schooldays when, we are told, he used to entertain his chums by extemporizing on the piano musical descriptions of their peculiarities. Even so early the personal and original bent of his genius was plain. He was to be, from first to last, an impressionist in music, setting forth himself and his own immediate impressions of people and things in the language that best fitted him and them.

His father, as long as he lived, that is, up to Robert's fifteenth year, did everything possible to encourage and develop the boy's music and had gone so far as to arrange with Weber to take charge of his musical education. This plan fell through and the senior Schumann died in 1825, leaving the family, including Robert, the youngest, in the charge of his mother, who was determined to make a lawyer of him.

During the next five years Schumann was a legal student at Leipzig and Heidelberg after the outward man, but, perhaps all the more because of the state of protest in which he attended his classes, in heart and mind a musician, seizing every opportunity and every excuse to leave his lawbooks in their congenial dustiness on the shelves, and to follow out the laws of his own eager spirit, making congenial friends, practising the piano continually, devouring all poetry and romance that had in it the spirit of youth. He counted greatly on his friends, both men and women, and his letters to them are very affectionate and intimate, with an odd humour and an impulsive expression of his tenderest feelings which were very characteristic of him. He was incapable of making himself one of the crowd and of sharing the crude delights of the average student life. But priggishness was the last offence with which Schumann was chargeable. With his intimates he was often full of the most whimsical and unbounded gaiety; and that, along with his great fondness for them, made him a chief favourite with the children. Alternating with his gaiety he had moods of strange melancholy and longing, moods which oppressed him at intervals right on to the sorrowful close of his life.

While he was at Leipzig University he took piano lessons from Wieck, whose daughter, Clara, then a child of nine, was an extraordinary performer and a great delight to Schumann. His favourite composers at this time were two so different as Bach and Schubert, and afterwards Schumann was one of those who did most to lead the

world to estimate Bach at his worth, to recognize not merely the vast learning and amazing accomplishment of his music, which were recognized already, but the great humanity that finds expression in it. In his own writing Schumann singularly combined the clear lyrical melody of Schubert with the involved part-writing and rich harmonic effects of Bach. He was put under professional tuition with a distinguished lawyer, Thibaut, who, fortunately or unfortunately from one point of view or the other, was expert not only in law but also in music. Years after the composer recommended to young musicians the old lawyer's treatise "On Purity in the Art of Music." Thibaut had the good sense to advise that he should give up the law for his natural profession. We may be sure that Schumann, who himself needed no persuasion, would use this professional opinion as a weighty argument in his debates with his mother and his guardian on the subject—in addition to the other, quite as substantial, that he was not in the least likely to pass his approaching legal examinations. At length, in his twentieth year, they agreed to refer the matter to Wieck, on whose decision it was settled that Schumann should be a professional pianist. "My life," he wrote at this time to his mother, "has been a twenty years' war between prose and poetry, between law and music."

His ambition then was to become a great pianist, and he meant to give six years solely to preparation for this, putting himself under his old teacher, Wieck, in Leipzig. He practised desperately, with an eagerness that defeated his end. After a time he gave up his lessons with Wieck, believing that he had discovered a new plan for strengthening his fingers which he practised in secret, some device for binding up one finger while the others were in use. The incident illustrates the ardour and independence, and also the fancifulness and secretiveness of his nature, and it helps to explain his old teacher's distrust of Schumann's fitness to be the

husband of his daughter, Clara, when, some years later, the "composer" and she had declared their love. For Schumann's device was an absolute failure, such a failure that it soon became plain that he could not look forward to the career of a public performer at all, his right hand being crippled beyond recovery. The disappointment was bitter enough to him and would doubtless add something to his constitutional moodiness and to that liability to nervous depression which burdened him from time to time all his life. He was by no means crushed, however, and at once gave himself eagerly to the study of composition. Out of his weakness he was made strong, and it is probable that the loss to that generation of hearing a great pianist was in considerable part the occasion of our great gain.

Schumann suffered then and all his life from the lack of early and thorough training in musical theory. His circumstances had been against him in that respect and his disposition was against him too. At that period the younger generation of cultivated Germany, the most ardent and hopeful of them, was in active revolt against all manner of pedantry and the tyranny of tradition in the arts and literature. To those who had felt the spell of Goethe and Schiller and who were thrilled in sympathy with the free and tender fancy and fine scorn of Heine and Jean Paul Richter, everything that could be considered antiquated or formal was anathema. Schumann revered with all his heart the great musical masters of the past; but his eager, impetuous, romantic temperament disinclined him in his early years to that laborious study of the science of music which had gone to the making of all the greatest masters and for the lack of which Schumann himself, like Schubert before him, was less great than he might have been. It is precisely such an independent, passionate, imaginative spirit as Schumann's, more akin to Beethoven than to any other of the masters, that is incapable of being fettered by a knowledge of the established theory and laws of art and that is at the same time

the most capable of profit by the discipline of them and the artistic restraint they impose. Now that he could not be a performer, so that composition must be his life-work, Schumann laboured in Leipzig ungrudgingly to remedy the defect of his early training.

About this time Schumann and one or two other young men of his own spirit determined to do something if it were possible for the revival of music in Germany. Before the death of Beethoven in 1827 the fashionable world, led by Vienna, had deserted Beethoven for Rossini and other even, lesser gods, and there had been a great falling away from the recent days of the masters into showy and trivial and conventional music and musical criticism. Schumann described the current praise of commonplace music as "the daubing of honey;" and, of course, when poor music was praised good music was in the same proportion despised. So *The New Journal of Music* was set afoot in Vienna. It lived for about ten years and, chiefly by Schumann's own writing in it, did notable service in musical enlightenment, in ridiculing false and vulgar ideals, in encouraging new writers with the root of the matter in them, and in making the best of the younger musicians take their art seriously and give their best to it. Schumann's writing in the *Journal* contains some of the ablest of musical criticism, often thrown into the most fanciful and humorous form. He did not sign his own name, but used various signatures, setting the imaginary owners of them to discuss the matter in hand. Some of these names stood for Schumann himself in his various moods and aspects of character, and others were fancy names for his musical friends. His own names were principally two, representing two main sides of himself, and as the names were both exceedingly characteristic of Schumann and as he frequently signed his music with one or both of them, it is worth our while to notice them. The name "Florestan" he used to represent his ardent, turbulent, active, impetuous disposition ;

and the name "Eusebius" to represent his quiet, sensitive, dreamy, fanciful temperament. It was Eusebius who walked in his sleep as a child and wept in vague sadness at the piano in the night; and it was Florestan who entertained himself and his chums at school with whimsical musical sketches of them. It is not, however, that the one name represents his sorrowful and the other his happy moods, but rather, I think, that Eusebius is passive, like an acolian harp, swept by the wind, moved by influences which he cannot explain and does not control, troubled and elated he cannot tell how; while Florestan is active, eager to utter himself, striving or jubilating or playing like a healthy child. His most curious and characteristic fancy in this connection was the League of David, a society all the members of which existed solely in his own head, being there confederated to fight the musical Philistines, to rout the entrenched forces of ignorance and stupidity, fashionable convention and general earthliness in the world of music. Florestan and Eusebius were, naturally, leading members of the League. Many of Schumann's compositions of this period for the piano are headed with the names of members of this singular institution. In the set of pieces called "Carnival," for example, there are "Florestan," "Eusebius," "Chopin," "Little Clara," and it ends with a triumphal "March of the David-Leaguers against the Philistines." In the March (which is probably unique among marches in its three-four time) the Philistines are represented by the "Grandfather's Dance," in which we hear the stiff-legged stumping of the survivors from the past; then immediately the old German dance is taken up by the Leaguers in the gayest of mockery, and one imagines the doddering old Philistines whirled along with the Leaguers in their March, which becomes something like a romp.

Schumann's journalism was always most generously and wisely and honourably used for the punishment of musical evil-doers and, still more, for the praise of them that did

well, without private partiality or personal grudge, to which the smaller kind of artist nature is so often tempted, and never in any degree for the advertising of his own wares. We find in his journalism as clearly as in his compositions that his love of music was wholly simple and disinterested. I quote a few sentences from his "Advices to Young Musicians" by way of illustration:

"Neither play bad compositions nor, unless compelled, listen to them.

Consider your company, but never play anything of which you feel in your conscience you would be ashamed.

Play assiduously the fugues of good masters, especially those of John Sebastian Bach. Let his Forty-Eight be your daily bread; you will then surely become good musicians.

Sing diligently in choruses, especially taking the middle parts.

In judging compositions distinguish between those which belong to true art and those which are intended merely for the entertainment of amateurs. Abide by the first; do not quarrel with the others.

The laws of morality are also those of art."

About his twenty-seventh year he seems first to have discovered that his interest in Clara Wieck, whose wonderful playing had long delighted him, was more than artistic. Some time before he had been betrothed to another lady; but for some unexplained reason the engagement was broken off, and meantime his relations with Clara, whom he had known from her childhood, had matured. She was only eighteen when he asked her father for her hand. There is little wonder that Wieck was not sanguine about the prospects of his old pupil,—few were likely to discern the strength and persistency that underlay the dreaminess and seeming waywardness of the young composer, and Wieck was not the man to take a detached and discriminating view of Schumann in the circumstances. It was only three years later, after Schumann had attempted and failed to establish his *Journal* in Vienna, after he

had won the doctorate of music in Jena University, and after he had defeated the persistent objections of Wieck by a law suit, that he won his bride. Queen Elizabeth of Roumania ("Carmen Sylva"), who was afterwards the friend of Mme. Schumann, has published Mme. Schumann's own account of the circumstances of that time. They had been secretly engaged for some years when "it came to open war between my affianced husband and my father and I remember having to appear between them in the court of law in which the struggle for my person was being decided. Schumann proved to the entire satisfaction of the court that he was of age and perfectly well able to support a wife, whilst my father, having no just ground for refusal, simply loaded him with insult. The decision was accordingly given in our favour, and we were legally authorized to become man and wife. At this my father's rage literally knew no bounds. Had he not often sworn that his daughter should never marry a beggarly musician, that he would hardly consider a prince good enough for her. So he turned me out of the house, refusing even to let me take my own few possessions with me, my stepmother going so far as to tear off my finger a little ring I always wore, as it had been my mother's, but which she now gave to her own daughter."

So far as his relations with his wife were concerned, Schuman's marriage was the happiest conceivable, and Clara Schumann long continued to be the best interpreter of her husband's genius and one of the greatest of pianists. She survived him for many years and gave delight in his music to a whole generation after his death. During that time of struggle for his wife, perhaps partly on account of the emotional tension of it, Schumann wrote most of his greatest piano music.

In general Schumann was not readily communicative, and it is said that even in quite unimportant matters he generally preferred to write rather than speak. He would often sit with a company of friends silent for hours, giving

no expression except an occasional bright glance to the ardour of his interests and affections. But his piano was his confidant. When all his nature was stirred by his love—when he could not have told in words to his best friend the sorrows, the hopes, the good dreams, the boisterous mirth, the thronging fancies, that were in him, he could set them forth in his music, inventing a new language for himself as he went on. “Florestan” gives out a brave, martial passage or a piece of graceful or boisterous gaiety or of stormy discontent; but soon it is “Eusebius” we hear under some strange spell of happiness or pain or wonder; until “Florestan” returns with his energy of self-assertion and dispels the mood of passiveness. In 1836, in the period referred to, he wrote to Moscheles asking for a sympathetic understanding of his work: “If you knew how I feel as if I had reached the lowest bough of the tree of heaven and could hear overhead in hours of sacred loneliness songs, some of which I may yet reveal to those I love, you would not deny me encouragement.” The world is much given to the use of prose, which we may regard as a necessary evil belonging to our sinful state; but it is still to be remembered that in poetry we come nearest to speaking the truth, in the language which means more than the words mean. It was that truer, finer and fuller speech that Schumann was reaching after.

In 1840, the year of his marriage, his music took a new form. Up to then he had written almost nothing but piano music and in that year he wrote almost nothing but songs, over a hundred and most of his greatest songs dating from that time. It was as if his new life must have a new outlet, and as if, at the same time, his interest must be less confined to his own inner life and must go out more freely to the life of others. Even in his songs the piano was still a chief means of expression for him, more so than is the case in the songs of any of the masters before him. “Accompaniment” is a very inadequate name for the

piano part in Schumann's songs, in which the two instruments, the voice and the piano, are really combined in a kind of duet. Many a time the voice does not really complete the melody by itself. It has been said that Mendelssohn set verses to tunes, while Schumann wrote poems to them in music. If we compare Schumann, on the other hand, with his greatest predecessor among song-writers, I think we may say that while Schubert's songs have the greater wealth and clearness of melody Schumann's have the greater subtilty of expression.

In the year after his marriage Schumann became intimate with Mendelssohn and was eager in his praise. Mendelssohn was a man of far easier, even, more placidly cheerful nature than Schumann, and a composer of more orderly, classical ideals, as laborious a musician and more learned, but of far less originality and depth. Mendelssohn was, naturally, much the more popular of the two then as now, and much the less musically interesting. It was hardly possible that Mendelssohn should fully estimate such work as Schumann's; still, he helped to get Schumann appointed musical professor in Leipzig. The appointment was not a success. Schumann was much too silent, too little able to explain himself, too sensitive and of too uncertain health, to be satisfactory either as a teacher or as a conductor. Before long he had to leave Leipzig in order to escape from the nervous strain of hearing music continually, and from Dresden he wrote to a friend, "Here one can get back the old lost longing for music, there is so little to hear. It just suits my condition, for I still suffer very much from my nerves and everything affects and exhausts me directly."

There is little outstanding incident to note in the rest of his life. It was greatly clouded at intervals by nervous depression and greatly sustained by the ideal companionship of his wife, who played his piano works as no one else could and who was even more to him in her life than in her

art. Schumann gave concerts here and there, in which his wife's playing was the great attraction and in which his reception by the public varied between tumultuous applause and indifference or partisan opposition. In Leipzig there were bitter rivalries between the Mendelssohn and the Schumann parties, for which the men whose names were so used were not responsible; and Wagner's turbulent and revolutionary spirit did not tend to make peace in musical Germany. Schumann and Wagner never came to a very good understanding. They had much in common, but the difference was very wide between Wagner's essentially dramatic and literary genius, constantly taken up with character, legend, action, and Schumann's lyrical spirit, brooding over a single idea of joy or sorrow and satisfied to give to it by itself his most perfect expression. A writer reports how Wagner said to him once of Schumann: "He is a highly gifted musician, but an impossible man. When I came from Paris I went to see Schumann; I told him of my Parisian experiences, spoke of the state of music in France, then of that in Germany, spoke of literature and politics. But he remained as good as dumb for nearly an hour. Now one cannot go on talking quite alone. An impossible man!" Schumann gave his own account of apparently the same interview: "I have seldom met him," he said of Wagner, "but he is a man of education and spirit; he talks, however, unceasingly, and that one cannot endure for very long together."

In his periods of better health Schumann undertook some large choral works, sacred and secular, which, with all their acknowledged beauties, have never taken a great place. But his nervous distress gained increasing hold of him. He fancied he was always hearing one note persistently through all others; he fancied that all music he heard was too fast; one day he had to be rescued from drowning, having thrown himself into the Rhine, and in 1856, in his forty-sixth year, he was delivered from all his imaginary terrors, dying in his wife's arm.

One of the most characteristic incidents in Schumann's life is that when visiting the graves of Schubert and Beethoven, who both died in his boyhood and were buried very near to each other in Vienna, he found on Beethoven's grave a steel pen which he kept as a kind of charm and used for writing criticisms of compositions of special importance. The incident is significant not only of the sensitive, fanciful nature of the man, but also of his great and conscious indebtedness to Beethoven. Indeed, Beethoven is the one master whom Schumann recalls. He has not Beethoven's power of long-sustained expression, nor anything of his mastery of large and clear design. He does not give the impression that Beethoven so often does of moral passion, of holding long strife with an unseen, inward enemy. He has not Beethoven's titanic force nor his eagle wing and he does not rise to Beethoven's heights of pure ecstasy. In the music of Schumann there is far less of musical *thought* than in Beethoven's; the sonata form never became wholly congenial to Schumann's genius. His music is often more interesting to play than Beethoven's, if you happen to be in the mood at the time; but it is, on the whole, far less interesting to practise than Beethoven's—and the comparison holds still more true of Bach's—in which the thought, the weaving of the pattern, the completeness of the construction, the connection of the beginning with the middle and the end, provides an interest which is very much independent of one's mood and which grows with every repetition. But Schumann has all Beethoven's rare sincerity of personal feeling; he too is a man who "speaks the truth in his heart" and takes no shame to be himself. He is far more purely lyrical than Beethoven, and is not afraid of being perfectly simple, even childish, in his moods, more so than Beethoven could be. His music has as much of *Innigkeit* as Beethoven's, and, like Beethoven's, it is always restrained by a rare sanity and chastity; it is never feverish or self-indulgent. His music is peculiarly like speech, often abrupt and vigorous, often dreamy and

uncertain, sometimes diffuse or obscure, always individual and sincere, never saying merely what another has said before, but always just what this man has to say now. To know Schumann's music, one must know himself. Its melodies are the currents of his blood ; its broken accents are the tumultuous beating of his heart.

JOHN D. SINCLAIR.

Calcutta.

SCOTLAND THROUGH GERMAN SPECTACLES.

BY W. DOUGLAS.

AT this time of international conflict much is being said and read about the differences between German and British. Many of the speakers and most of the writers have recognized that the best authorities on German life and thought and methods are not British tourists back from Germany but the German writers themselves. The idea still seems to be prevalent, however, that the best way of understanding the spirit of the German nation is to study the writings of German philosophers, German journalists, and German military experts. Such an idea is obviously erroneous. German philosophers are notorious for their intellectual isolation. The German press cannot claim to be the voice of the people. And any nation might be called militaristic if one judged it from the books of its generals and admirals.

The typical German is a man fond of travel, keenly interested in the little things—the insignificant and therefore significant things—of everyday life. If then we can catch the German on tour, if we can peep into his diary, if we can overhear his exclamations and his observations, we shall understand Germany much better than by reading the witticisms and the philosophies and the perorations of the trained writer. It would be of particular interest if we could catch this typical German while he was making a tour of our own country—viewing it not as a battleground but as a pleasure ground. For then we should have a chance of discovering not only what the German view of life is, but what his attitude to us is; how much animosity and how much fellow-feeling are astir beneath the straps of his rucksack.

To discover all this we need not read any of those voluminous professorial compositions on Britain and British life with which the German libraries teem. It will serve our purpose better to examine some more modest production, something written not for the student of war or of politics, but for the average man, the man who wishes to go travelling. I have in my hand a little German booklet called a "Guide to Scotland," printed at Leipzig and sold throughout Germany for fourpence. Here we shall discover what impresses and what astonishes our German visitor, what rouses him and what amuses him. We are not likely to find anything designing or insincere in a little fourpenny guide-book.

Well, the most striking characteristic of the booklet is that it is essentially practical. It tells the traveller how much he will have to pay for breakfast, it gives him advice concerning alternative routes, it provides him with a list of hotels when he reaches a big town. The visitor who follows faithfully the instructions of this little guide-book will certainly have a very comfortable holiday at a very moderate cost. And he will see most of the things that are really worth seeing. Our practical-minded guide frequently soars into ecstatic outbursts when he speaks of the splendid buildings of the large towns or when he describes the magnificent natural scenery of the Highlands. And the book is full of references to historical and literary associations.

The tour begins at Edinburgh. Princes Street is described as reminiscent of the Parisian boulevards, as the sort of street which one expects to find in a city where the population is numbered by the million. Yet in spite of this Scotland seems to strike our guide as being a very provincial place. At every turn one is confronted by some Caledonian eccentricity. The Temperance Hotels, for example! These, our guide tells us, constitute one of the peculiarities of Scottish life. He proceeds to explain the nature of these institutions and to recommend them to

families and single ladies, for whose convenience he also appends a list of the chief temperance hotels in the Scottish capital.

Again the absence of sausage is a grievance. It is "unknown" in Scotland in any form. The after-dinner smoke is described as a thing not usually to be found in Scotland owing to the high tobacco duties ; cigars of "quite mediocre quality" cost no less than threepence each. A short pipe (anything less than three feet long is a "short pipe" to a German) is recommended as the best substitute for a cigar.

Then there is the Sabbath. "Anyone," we are told, "who wishes to do conscientiously the round of Edinburgh sights, will be really delighted to make the acquaintance of a Scottish Sunday. In the morning hours the place looks like a city of the dead : not a cab, not a car is to be seen, not a paper is sold, not a shop is opened, the railway stations are deserted ! All the museums, libraries and restaurants are shut—only the churches are open and (what is strangest of all to the foreigner on his first visit to Scotland) are filled both morning and evening by a throng of the devout. Whereas in Germany regular churchgoers are frequently regarded as conservative and indeed charged with hypocrisy, even the most liberal person in Scotland takes care not to make such remarks aloud."

One thing which our visitor notices "with pleasure" is the way in which our boys and youths spend their evenings "pleasantly and usefully" in physical exercises. He adds : "Not infrequently one sees on the field quite elderly persons who take part in these exercises with such perseverance and *abandon* that even the German spectator does not withhold his applause." The whole thing is a surprise to the stranger from the Fatherland—the field set aside for games, the pavilion, the enthusiasm, the *esprit de corps*. Wasn't it Wellington who said that Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of Eton ? The playing-fields of Scotland, where the enthusiasm of at least one German

spectator was roused, may also have their contribution to make to the world's history.

The military side of Scottish life does not seem to have obtruded itself on our German visitor although it becomes prominent when he pays a visit to Edinburgh Castle. "All the ways and paths are full of the soldiers of the Scottish regiment, the 'Black Watch' ['Watsh' is the form in which the word appears in the guide book] but otherwise they do not disturb the foreigner in any way and their picturesque costume rouses his hearty admiration."

It has already been remarked that the book abounds in literary and historical references. Most of these are apt and accurate, Sir Walter Scott especially being frequently quoted with splendid effect. One ought not perhaps to expect to find a very accurate knowledge of past events in a fourpenny booklet, but one does—especially if one is a Scotsman—expect those who undertake to write on Scotland to know that the campaign of 1745-6 was not a fight between England and Scotland. The difference between Jacobite and Scottish is probably insignificant, if not unintelligible, to a member of the "glorious German Empire" but the mistake mars the excellence of this little book.

Well, then, what have we found the impressions of our German visitor to be? He admires the hills and the plains, the statues and the gardens of Scotland. He misses the sausage, the beer, and the cigar of the Fatherland. Sunday evening's solemnity and Monday evening's activity amaze him equally. And he can hardly be charged with making a secret study of our military affairs for he is ignorant of the most ordinary facts of our military history.

I have attempted to reproduce as faithfully as possible the impressions of our German friend; it is needless to give my impressions of those impressions. But they may help us to remember that not all the inhabitants of the Fatherland have spent the last thirty years in a Nietzschean nightmare.

W. DOUGLAS.

RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES FOR STUDENTS.

BY R. N. GILCHRIST.

I.

DURING the last ten years the mind of every educational authority in India has been much occupied with the subject of providing suitable residential facilities for Indian students. The very rapid expansion of University education has brought about a condition of affairs comparable with the state of the large industrial centres in the West after the industrial revolution. The beginnings of University Education in India were marked by an easy *laissez faire* attitude which, so long as the numbers did not become glaringly unmanageable, produced no uneasiness in the minds of the authorities. Gradually, however, the bigger centres of India became crowded with colleges, and many of these colleges, especially in the last few years, have become grossly overcrowded with students. The students, of whom a very large percentage comes from outside the college centres, must have somewhere to lay their heads, and in the mad rush of competition, the weakest and poorest often very literally have been sent to the wall. Just as after the industrial revolution the *laissez faire* principle, so dear to many western theorists, had ruthlessly to be shattered by governmental interference, so in India the attention of Government was quickly directed to the menace of unregulated students' residence. In the peculiar political conditions prevailing in India, it was recognized that it was absolutely essential for the common good that firm and scientific measures should be adopted. That the Government of India has tackled the subject with great enthusiasm is shown in a striking way by the fact that

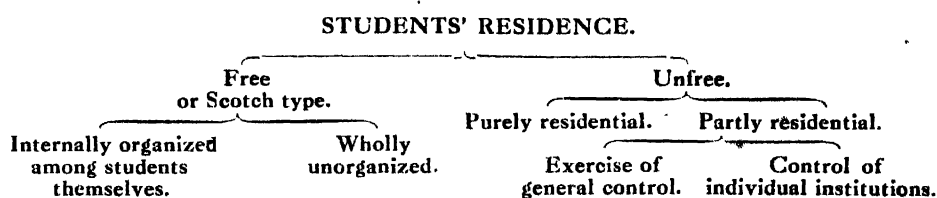
during the last four years over sixty lakhs of rupees have been set aside from Imperial revenues for the purpose of providing adequate residence for students.

In the Resolution of the Government of India in the Department of Education, issued on the 21st February 1913,—a resolution which presents the various *crucis* of Indian Educational administration in a succinct form—much emphasis is laid on the necessity of sound residential institutions. While direct moral and religious instruction can do much to build up the human character, it is pointed out, yet the Government of India “desire to see the hostel system develop until there is adequate residential accommodation attached to every college and secondary school in India.” The task thus set for themselves by the Government of India is an enormous one—to many it seems an impossible one—and the difficulties in the way of its realization are made all the greater by the rapid development of Education, both in schools and colleges. The Government has already a big handicap in the race, for the Imperial grants—generous as they have been—have only nibbled at the problem. I am afraid that the race will long be one of Achilles and the tortoise, with Achilles losing and the tortoise gaining rapidly.

In this paper I propose in the first place to examine, not the present conditions of India or, more specifically, Bengal, but to go to a wider field. In another paper I hope to apply to local conditions what I find on examination from the world at large to be what may be called the principles of Students' Residence. The subject of Student's Residence has become one of international importance since the growth of the new Universities in large towns and a not inconsiderable literature exists on the subject. All Universities, old and young, have their problems of residence; and it will be of some interest and value to glance at the principles and practice of other Universities.

Various principles have guided University residential policy, but when we gather the various strings together,

we may mark them off in this way. On the one hand there is the Free system, where the Universities have practically no control over residence. On the other hand there is the Unfree system, where the University exercises the most rigid control over students not only in their classes but in their mode of living. The first of these, the Free system, is characteristic of the Scotch Universities; the second, or Unfree system, prevails most typically in Oxford and Cambridge. Between these extremes there is what may be called the Half-free system, where the University exercises either a general control over the whole body of students, or over certain residential institutions for students, those outside these institutions being free. The various types may be represented thus:—



The Scotch type is very democratic. So long as a student observes the law of the land, he can reside where he likes and live in any way he cares. In some of the Scotch Universities, semi-university residential institutions have been founded, but the great majority of students find their lodgings for themselves. Agencies exist in the University for providing lodgings, it is true, but these agencies control neither students nor landladies. The Students' Representative Councils at the Universities usually have a list of landladies who are willing to take students as lodgers, but the choice of the actual place of residence is left absolutely to the student.

On the other hand Oxford and Cambridge make residence a *sine qua non* of University education—so much so that the actual terms of residence are made the criterion for the University course, whereas in the Free University class attendance is made the standard. Residence—or as the Oxford regulations have it *victum sumere et pernoctare*—in

either Oxford or Cambridge must be either (1) within the walls of a College or Hall or (2) in licensed lodgings (a list of which is published from term to term) or (3) under special circumstances, in private houses (such as with parents or relatives, or a student's own house). In any case, the student must reside "within the precincts of the University," the precincts being carefully defined in each case.

The extraordinary disparity in residential arrangements between Oxford and Cambridge and other Universities may be judged from the figures elicited by the enquiries of the Inter-University Halls of Residence Committee established in 1904. Outside these Universities, there was accommodation for only 470 male students in the Universities of Great Britain. These were the figures of ten years ago: since then considerable additions have been made both for men and women students.

By far the greatest number of Universities nowadays come under the designation Half-free. Even the Scotch Universities are establishing University residences with a close University connexion. One of the influences which has brought this about is the advent of women students, and in most Universities where women are admitted on the same status as men, special houses are established for them, often with a Warden paid by the University. Practically all the new English Universities have established special residences for women students, while in these Universities the "free" system may prevail among men students. In several Universities, *e.g.*, Bristol, Manchester, Leeds, London and Liverpool, the double system prevails of residential institutions for both women and men, the houses for men, however, in no wise being capable of housing all the men students.

The University of Leeds decrees that all registered students not living with parents, relatives or friends, must reside at some Hall of Residence or hostel approved by the University or in registered lodgings or in lodgings which are

approved. This is not a usual type of control. The Half-free system usually means that certain institutions are controlled by the University, but that outside these institutions no disciplinary control whatsoever is exercised. While most of the Universities, either in the University offices or through organizations of the students themselves, such as the Students' Guild or Representative Council, help students in securing lodgings, practically none of them exercises any control over the student once he has secured lodgings. A survey of the residential policy of all newer Universities shows that there is at present an oscillation not between the general principles of Free and Unfree, but between the two types of Free residence. Universities nowadays are founded in large towns and the difficulty of accommodation for students is not marked. In the smaller centres, such as Oxford or Cambridge, large numbers of students cannot easily be absorbed in the houses of the town. The result is a distinct tendency in the new Universities to let students forage for themselves as regards residence : but at the same time there is a tendency for Universities to assume some sort of general control, this being specially marked in the case of women students. But the control is not rigid ; in fact, it is often so nominal that it might be said that so long as students observe College or University discipline while in College, they may do as they like outside College provided they do not collide with the civil authorities.

It may be of interest to examine some examples of types of residence among students in the various Universities in the British Empire, some of which are organized purely by the students themselves, others of which have some official bond with the central authorities of the University. The most interesting residential experiments, however, are to be found in the United States. The development of the residential system there is unique, in so much as there are many types of University and many types of student. Many of the American Universities

are situated in country places, with the result that some sort of arrangements have had to be made for accommodating students in hostels or dormitories attached to the Universities. But in the big centres in America, e.g., in the urban Universities, there is a marked tendency to house students in University regulated buildings. Thus Harvard and Columbia, both urban Universities, have dormitories for over 800 and over 1,000 students respectively. Pennsylvania, also an urban University, houses over 600. It is also no uncommon thing for students at Harvard and Yale, whose families live in Boston and Newhaven, to prefer University residences to their own homes. The reasons for such a preference are many. The American student, for one thing, is a very social student, American student social life being highly organized, extensively and intensively. Not only so, but the American system of University teaching and study make it desirable for students to live near their College and library. It may also be noted that these University dormitories are often sources of profit to the University, a point which may be carefully noted with reference to India. Indian hostels and messes are highly subsidized : there is a not insignificant element of charity in their management. The American theory is different. Universities there do not build up a residential system by catering for those who can pay least. They adopt the opposite policy. They attract to University residences those who can pay *most*, arguing that thereby they secure the best type of student. It is a moot point in University residential policy whether the Indian policy or the American policy is the better. The conditions are so different that comparison is impossible, or at least unfair, but it may at least be argued that in developing a residential system, those who can pay *most* should be provided for first. The best class of student should be attracted to the University Halls, and if money in any measure, then the American theory is right. Once the hostel system is established as an ideal, students with less of the world's

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gear may be accommodated in residences with graded charges.

While the American Universities have largely adopted the Unfree or Half-free systems, there has developed in America a large number of free organizations among the students themselves. The best known of these is the Fraternity or, as it is popularly known, the "Frat." (It may be noted that the Canadian Universities have developed on lines similar to the United States Universities. The University of McGill, Montreal, for example, provides apartments for students but a big proportion of the students establish "Frats.") A "Fraternity" may perhaps be best described as a "chummery," and as such is similar to the Calcutta unattached messes. But such a bald description by no means sums up the Fraternity. In some ways it is like a masonic association. The members of a fraternity are not chance associates : they are usually a number of friends who form themselves into a close corporation or select club. They live together in the same house, they own the furniture, make their own arrangements for servants, and elect new members. The Fraternity is not a big body—fifteen is about the usual size ; but it is self-sufficient, the University having as a rule no official connexion with it at all.

These Fraternities were founded on Greek Letter Societies ; in fact, the various "chapters" of Fraternities are distinguished just as the Greek Letter Societies are. These societies were at the beginning simply literary and debating clubs, and in time they developed certain secret or quasi-masonic signs, which gave them a unique status. Originally they simply hired rooms for their discussions, and after the common-rooms came the provision of bedrooms, and, ultimately each became a small residential community. These Fraternities are very numerous. There are, it is estimated, over 1,000 active chapters in America, well over half of which own or rent houses for their members. The Fraternity exists not only for

students but for graduates, for "once a mason, always a mason" is their principle. The "frat-man" will find other "frat-men" all over America. In fact, many of the leading men of the United States are members of Fraternities, and the young graduate of a University who has been a member of a particular Fraternity often finds his "frat" connexion of considerable utility to him. The Fraternity is perhaps the most intensive University residential type in the world.

These Greek Letter Societies, on which the Fraternities are founded, date from 1776, when the first one, the Rhi Beta Kappa, was founded at William and Mary College. Its purpose was half national or patriotic (as suggested by the date), half literary. Chapters of it were established at Harvard and Yale before 1800. Many others, such as the Chi Delta Theta, Kappa Alpha, Sigma Phi, Delta Phi were founded in the next half century and these formed the basis of the widely ramifying organizations of to-day. The Fraternities cater for rich and poor alike, and one of the criticisms often levelled against the system is that they separate the wealthy students from the poorer students. Some of the Fraternities (which, it must be remembered, include graduates) have endowments as large as some Colleges; while others are housed in cheaply rented houses, leased for a short period of years. The Fraternities, admirable as they are in cultivating useful social activities and imposing discipline on their members, have undoubtedly the drawback of encouraging "snobbishness," so distasteful in a University. The one main element of community—the community of learning—tends to be overbalanced by the more worldly distinctions of wealth. Students of poorer means and narrower outlook are hedged off from the more affluent and liberal minded (for the "Frats." are intellectual unions as well as social); to the detriment of the whole, the parts are not united. But despite these criticisms, the Fraternities have served and do serve very useful purposes,

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not the least of which is the excellent example and impetus they have given to the American residential idea.

I shall pass from the American Fraternity to other types of residence by quoting the description of the "Frat" type of life by a Scottish University observer, Mr. R. K. Risk :—

"The Fraternity may elect its members from any year, and it admits men after graduation. But naturally there is keen competition to secure Freshmen who are regarded as eligible members, and those in that happy position find their first few days at College made exceedingly attractive. They are lunched and dined, and taken to the theatre by members of competing Fraternities. This Process is known as the Freshman rush, and it must not be confused with the other kind of Freshman rush. The Freshman may be rushed by being made to climb trees or submit to a milk shampoo at the hands of the Sophomores. He is also "rushed" when he is made to feel that he is a very important and necessary individual—until he has made his choice of a Fraternity. When he has made it, or when he enters the Fraternity to which his father belonged, or where his friends are, he becomes a hewer of wood and a drawer of water.

A Fraternity which I visited had established itself in an old Colonial house, with many-pillared portico, and wide verandahs back and front, set in a spacious garden overlooking the valley of the Huron. Within, three large rooms had been thrown into one hall, with oak-panelled walls and lofty timbered roof. This series of halls provided the living-rooms for the twenty members of the Chapter. There was a dining-room to the rear, furnished and decorated with tasteful simplicity, and bedroom accommodation on the upper floors. The Frat-man remains one after he goes out into the world; so a feature of this house was a suite of rooms kept for the use of graduate members of the Chapter when they revisit Ann Arbor. A member so returning may even bring his wife to the Fraternity-house. Accommodation for Commencement is booked a year ahead. The two professors who introduced me to the lodge of Sigma Phi were both members. It was considered that a fire would add to the picturesqueness of the hall. So the Freshman who happened to be on duty that Sunday night came in to lay and light the fire. He wore knickerbockers and a sweater, and performed his task in a workmanlike fashion. We sat round the hearth, and the Dean of the

Faculty of Engineering, who had served in the war with Spain, yarned about it, explaining humorously how the benevolent neutrality of Great Britain sometimes enabled an American warship to coal where it ought not to coal. The scandalized British commander, whose duty it was to stop the process, would send an officer to find out if the American cruiser was really coaling, and the officer would be detained, by U. S. hospitality, a couple of hours or thereby. His commander would then think over the situation for another hour, and send the officer back to see if this highly irregular proceeding was still going on. And thus the formal intimation that the U. S. cruiser really must not continue coaling would arrive precisely when her bunkers were full."

One of the most interesting experiments in Britain is University Hall, Edinburgh. In this institution the students are entirely responsible for the management. The prototype of University Hall was Toynbee Hall, in the East End of London, but there is a vital distinction between them, *viz.*, in the one case—University Hall—the students manage the hostel themselves: Toynbee Hall had a warden. The distinction is one which has formed the centre of many debates. Each contending party has both its arguments and its examples, and it will be interesting to review these with the prospect of applying them to Indian University conditions.

University Hall, Edinburgh, was provided by an independent authority. Professor Geddes, then a junior member of the staff in Edinburgh University, rented, in 1887, several rooms as students' residences. The motto of the system of residence is significant—*Vivendo discimus*. The members of the Hall manage all their internal affairs such as messing, servants and lighting. The rent is paid to a body known as the Town and Gown Association which manages the external relations of the various houses. The students of the respective houses decide by ballot who are to be new members, while the Town and Gown Association has the right to refuse to let a room to any applicant or to continue the lease of a room to a student already admitted.

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The Association also makes certain written stipulations with parents or guardians as to terms. The success of the Edinburgh University Hall has been marked. Starting in 1887 with accommodation for seven residents, in fifteen years it had accommodation for 145 students. The houses, it may be added, are near the University. The rooms are study-bedrooms, the rent varying according to the room, between 8s. 6d. and £1. That the system is acceptable to students may be gauged from the fact that many graduates continue in residence in the Hall after they have left the University.

The example set by University Hall, Edinburgh, spread to London, where a nucleus of Edinburgh men established a hostel in Chelsea, similar to the Edinburgh Institution. Professor Geddes was appointed warden of this hostel, and this innovation aroused much animated argument. The question of hostels *with* wardens against hostels *without* wardens is one which cannot be satisfactorily solved. As Mr. E. B. Sargant, a member of the Royal Commission on University Education in London, points out, the solution depends on circumstances. The one side can plausibly argue that self-reliance can be cultivated in the one and subservience in the other. The other side can say that order and discipline can be secured with wardens, and that neither good study nor the good life is possible without wardens. The warden is a useless extra expense, says one side ; the warden saves expense by being a full-time officer who can manage efficiently, says the other. The truth lies in the middle position. Where students have a long tradition of free living, as in Edinburgh, they will naturally resent superintendence by a warden ; where the students are relatively older when they come to the University there will be less need of superintendents. Or, again, it may depend on the purpose of the residence. If it is to be a substitute for private lodgings (which are universally cheaper than halls), then the expenses must be kept at a minimum ; if it is meant to be a college residence

of the Oxford-Cambridge type, then expenses will not be the primary consideration. Some halls have resident tutors, usually members of the University staff. If tutorial assistance is to be given, naturally the students must pay more. If the residence is purely residential and non-tutorial they will have to pay less. All these considerations have to be taken into account, and it is well to remember this in view of the position in India. Time and again authorities have emphasized the necessity of good wardens or superintendents in Indian residential institutions, but there are not wanting those brave spirits who declare that wardens are a needless and expensive luxury. It depends on the character of the students, on their age, and so forth, as to whether wardens are required or not. I shall deal with this particular aspect later, but I just mention it as a consideration in the midst of the wranglings of our University Senators about the age limit for matriculation.

The mention of the Chelsea hostel suggests a study of the wider whole—the University of London. London has been the model for many Universities, notably the Indian, South African, and New Zealand Universities. What does the model show?

London University definitely recognizes the importance of residential institutions, but up to now the University has taken no direct action in providing hostels or houses of any kind. The action actually taken has simply been the recognition of hostels which have been established either by individual colleges or by independent authorities. Such recognized institutions, for example, are University Hall of Residence, Chelsea, mentioned above, and University College Hall, Ealing. The latter serves for the men students at University College. It was established by a company, the directors of whom now have ultimate control, though the actual management is vested in a Committee, three members of which are appointed by the governing body of University College. There is a warden, responsible to the managing body.

The Colleges of the University of London have with some exceptions few residential arrangements. The exceptions are, as we might expect, the women's colleges, where considerable foundations exist for the provision of instruction and residence in the same place. Notable among the foundations are those attached to Bedford and Holloway Colleges. Bedford College is at present in a state of residential transition, but even now the students' residences are very efficient, catering for every side of the students' life. Holloway College, which was founded by the late Mr. Thomas Holloway, has fairly extensive residential accommodation for students, the main lines of policy for these having been laid down in the will of the founder. The domestic life of the College, said the founder, was to be "that of an orderly Christian household," and accordingly he enjoined the ordinary religious exercises of the Christian household. It is to be noted, however, that denominationalism is entirely absent from the religion of the members. In fact, it is a noteworthy characteristic of women's colleges in England that sectarianism is taboo. In men's hostels, on the other hand, the government in many cases is that of a particular sect or creed.

The question of sectarianism is, of course, one of the most important in India, and it is worth while mentioning the difficulties that have existed in other countries. The tendency in modern hostel policy is to non-sectarianism in University *hostels* though many *Colleges* are still sectarian. I have just noted that women's residences are usually free from denominational bias, but the reason for that may be the paucity of women students. In the case of men students, however, most of the hostels—even some of those founded recently—are governed by sectarian agencies. In a federal University it is quite easy to establish denominational colleges, but in one-college or "unitary" Universities the only way in which sectarian influence can be exercised is through some agency outside the University.

The most obvious way is the students' hostel. The example of the University conditions in Nova Scotia, indeed, illustrates the position. Nova Scotia has four Universities all of which have a distinctive religious government. Dalhousie University, in Halifax, is Presbyterian in origin, but to all intents and purposes is now undenominational. The other three are King's College at Windsor, Acadia College at Wolfville; and St. Francis Xavier College at Antigonish, which are respectively Church of England, Baptist, and Roman Catholic in denomination. Each of these grants degrees; each has its own residential arrangements. The lessons to be learnt from Nova Scotia are not so important from the point of view of residence of students as from the wider consideration of denominational Universities, a question not unimportant in India. Of the Nova Scotia Universities the biggest and most important is Dalhousie University. It is practically undenominational, but in spite of vigorous attempts, no union has been possible between the greater and the smaller. Mr. Sargent, in a paper on Residential Facilities read at the Congress of Universities, 1912, declares that "the single college residential University proves to be one of the most difficult of bodies corporate to amalgamate with anything else." In the case in point, it would be eminently advisable for Dalhousie University to include the smaller units, but the smaller units rigorously stand out. They have been founded largely by private denominational subscription, with a definite aim to educate young men in a definite religious creed. Many of these Universities train clergy for their particular church, but even then a college could better perform the function. A Faculty of Divinity is a reasonable and necessary appanage to any Western University; but a Divinity University is quite another thing. Obviously these sectarian Universities magnify parts into wholes. They run counter to the *Universal* idea in University training, and once the principle of sect as against whole is admitted, the conclusion

may be a hopeless collection of units without unity. Sec-tarianism in any form is to be deprecated in a University, but deprecation does not solve the question. Sectarianism is still an unfortunate necessity, and in India more so than in any other country in the world.

Perhaps South Africa has, after India, the most sec-tarian institutions. These are, as in India, due to the two-fold distinction of race and religion. The University of the Cape of Good Hope has only an indirect connection with the residential institutions for students; the colleges are the controlling agents of the hostels. The religious differences are not so intense, of course, as those in India; in fact, in spite of the multifarious religions and different races, some of the most notable institutions are neutral. An example is College House, of the South African College at Cape Town. Another interesting example is the Huguenot College at Wellington, Cape Province—which is un-sectarian, the students (women mainly) being allowed to live their own religious lives, though they live together.

The University of London has been reproduced in New Zealand. No residential arrangements exist there, but in Australia there is much interesting material. The University of Melbourne, itself a modern University, shows perhaps best of all the tendency of modern Univer-sity policy. In Melbourne three residential colleges have been established on denominational lines, an Anglican, a Presbyterian and a Methodist College. These Colleges are affiliated to the University, and each, though nominally sectarian, is open to members of all religious denomina-tions. The total number of students which the Colleges can take into residence is somewhere about 250. The University requires the Colleges to obtain the approval of the University to the plans of any proposed buildings, and the Colleges cannot take any student into residence who does not matriculate in the University within six months of his entering a College residence. All matters of management beyond these general laws are vested in

the Colleges. Perhaps the broad basis of the nominal denominationalism of these Colleges may be instanced by the Ormond (Presbyterian) College. The College is open to members of all religious denominations, and day students are admitted as well as resident students. All students *may* attend morning and evening prayers in the College. All students *shall* attach themselves to some church of their particular denomination. Melbourne University combines the old with the new. It is like Oxford and Cambridge in most respects, with the one important distinction that an equal place is assigned to denominational bodies in regard to residence. Latterly even Oxford and Cambridge have admitted denominational halls to a certain extent. A central undenominational University, with equality admitted among denominational attached institutions, whether colleges or residences, is the modern tendency of Universities, and one may reasonably look forward to the time when even more democratic advance will be possible. Denominationalism has been up to now largely synonymous with privilege. As privilege breaks down in other directions, so it may be expected to do in Universities.

To attempt to prophesy naturally makes one turn to the most recent authoritative pronouncement in Universities, *viz.*, the Report of the Royal Commission on the University of London. That report is concerned mainly with more profound problems than the details of students' residence; none the less, the Commissioners give some remarkable pronouncements on the subject although many authorities on the subject will be unwilling to agree with all the tenets laid down.

The Report declares that the fourth condition of sound University work is "providing healthy and interesting conditions of life for the students outside the University buildings." It recognizes that these conditions are more difficult to secure in large cities than in small towns, and for that reason the city University must take all the

more care regarding them. The schools of the West have long recognized the necessity of the formation of character, but experience has convinced the new Universities, although at their foundation they gave little attention to this aspect of their work, of the paramount importance of it. The British have as a nation, says the Report, a strong belief in the value of character. "The State," as Lord Rosebery said, addressing the University of Glasgow, "gives the University peace, protection, possibly endowment ; in return the University gives the State, or should give the State, picked men, and now also picked women." "The University," he continued, "is no doubt the source of supply for the learned professions, but outside and beyond it gives citizens, not necessarily the learned, who by training and by character influence their generation, and maintain directly or indirectly the tradition of the State. The work of teaching arts and sciences is going on everywhere but a University should aim at producing character, indirectly, perhaps, but none the less effectually."

The Report goes on to insist on the necessity of all-round training. Mere intellectual training means one-sidedness ; the students become isolated units when they leave their class rooms. The Board of Education, it is pointed out, have been increasing their pressure on the various Universities to provide hostels for the students sent there to be educated and trained as teachers, and they have shown their meaning in a practical way by giving substantial grants for this purpose, "no doubt because they have recognized that good teachers must be something more than intellectual machines." Not only so, but, as the Report says, "the Board of Education have also adopted the policy of urging that students in training should not be in a majority in any hostel. In a city like London, where the centrifugal tendencies are so great, it is even more necessary than elsewhere that the University should encourage the erection of hostels

for as many of its students as possible. The hostels should mostly be placed in the suburbs, where fresh air and playing fields are to be had, and they should be so arranged as to attract students and junior teachers from different Faculties and from different institutions. We think the hostels should not be used as a means of strengthening the collegiate spirit, but, on the contrary, that they should be under the general supervision of the University and should serve to promote a University *esprit de corps*. In a University of the kind we have in view, where the financial control will be centralized and the educational administration in the hands of the University Faculties, the loyalty of the students to their College should be subordinate to, if no less than, their loyalty to the University. We do not propose that the University chest should bear the burden of maintaining these hostels; but we are confident that the University could successfully appeal for special funds in support of a comprehensive scheme of the kind we have outlined, while some assistance could, no doubt, be obtained from the Board of Education towards the initial cost of those portions of the buildings which would be assigned to students in training as teachers. No doubt all University hostels would not be intended to serve the needs of students irrespective of their Faculty or place of study. The Theological Colleges, for instance, are nearly all residential, and the students in them must almost necessarily be segregated, though even hostels for theological students might well be open to other students. Provision already exists for small hostels near hospitals, where medical students holding hospital appointments can live during the tenure of their posts. These are exceptional cases and need not interfere with the general policy of the University."

The above paragraph contains *in intenso* the views of the London University Commission on residence policy. There are, however, one or two points in the Commission's statement that require consideration. One is the

recommendation that students of one Faculty should not be segregated ; another is that hostels should not be directed to strengthening the collegiate as against the University spirit. While most people will willingly accept the first doctrine as a general principle, very few will be enthusiastic over the second.

The Report, as will be seen from the quotation just given, considers that "Faculty" segregation should be avoided. This is a very excellent policy, if it remains merely an expression of opinion, but the practical side is quite another matter. The Commissioners presumably imply that Medical, Divinity, Engineering, Arts and Science students should live as much as possible together. They should not live in *Faculty* hostels. When we take into account the federal nature of London University, we see at once the connexion between this statement and the second one, that collegiate hostels should not be fostered at the expense of University spirit. In a University with many constituent Colleges, the Colleges are often—in fact usually—"Faculty" Colleges, *e.g.*, there are Arts, Science, Engineering and Medical Colleges. If "Faculty" hostels are to be avoided, so, too, are collegiate hostels. Hence I consider that while many people will readily agree with the general statement regarding "non-Faculty" hostels, few will agree with it in the case of federal Universities. In the unitary Universities, the Faculties are usually so closely connected that it is difficult to distinguish them. The classes are held in the same buildings, and students would naturally stay in the same hostels, did any such hostels exist. As a matter of fact, however, the residential system is by no means perfected in this type of University. In the Scotch Universities, for example, which are practically one-college Universities (though there may be nominally more than one College) there are no special facilities for residence, except for students of the Divinity faculty. This points a moral. The students of Divinity, it is considered, profit by living together as students of one faculty. The same might be

argued for students of other faculties. As a matter of fact, there is considerable variety within Faculties, *e.g.*, the students of Arts and Science may take very different courses within the same Faculty. In this way diversity of life and aims may be secured even within a Faculty. It is doubtful, further, if Faculties *should* intermingle indiscriminately : medical students, it may be held, had better be segregated. Really each Faculty is *sui generis* : it has common aims and interests, and, having such, it should be allowed to live its own life.

The strength of the arguments against faculty hostels may be illustrated by the remarks of two authorities. One, Principal W. M. Childs of Reading University College, speaking at the 1912 Congress of the Universities of the Empire, said :—

“ If a hall of residence is to fulfil these purposes, there are certain conditions which, in my opinion, it must observe.

The first of these is that it should not be too large. Whatever may be the advantages of living in a hall of residence, I do not think there are any advantages in living in a crowd, and I should say, having regard to a good many considerations, that seventy or eighty is the very maximum number for a single hall. In the second place—and I urge it with equal earnestness—the students in a hall of residence should not all be of one sort. To illustrate that point, without dwelling upon it, I do not hesitate to say that no more disastrous or dismal blunder has been made in this branch of practical education than the segregation into separate halls of residence of those students preparing to be teachers. If you wish to have a variety and richness of life in your halls you need students of all kinds, students of differing antecedents, course of study, and destinies. Thirdly, the life there must be conducted with dignity, each student having a private room, the arrangements for meals and life generally being on University lines ; and as far as possible the students should preserve their own order. Lastly, I do not think it wise for a University to allow its halls of residence to become centres for teaching.”

Following him, Professor Patrick Geddes said :—

“ I desire to follow Principal Childs in protesting against the disastrous method of segregation of the students of a single

faculty, whether of the teaching or medical profession, or law students. It is a method which directly reproduces the historical defects of the ecclesiastical seminary without its advantages. I plead for the freer mingling of all the faculties, even the faculty of Fine Art, for instance—whether in the University or not—of all liberal professions, whether recognized or not. My point is that residential halls would increase their usefulness by running somewhat ahead of the definite limitations of the University, and by welcoming all the professions, from the architect to the accountant, whether there is a University degree of faculty for them or not. In this way the University would gather together all the professions, and the hostels meet economic difficulties.”

No one would disagree with the theories so forcibly expressed by Professor Childs and Professor Geddes, did all Colleges give the same variety of intellectual provender. That suggests a question out of my bounds here, *viz.*, the minimum qualifications for a College to *be* a College. Most will agree that a College should have as diversified a form of life as possible in the purely academic aspect. The unity will be all the greater thus. Grant this (and, it may be noted, such a theory would exclude the rather indiscriminate affiliations given to all sorts of institutions in certain Universities) and no one will quarrel with the theory. But if the non-faculty residences are to imply non-collegiate residences, then one must hesitate.

The iterated insistence on the value of “common life” among students has become almost tiresome. The generalizations about the value of such life are easily made and more easily accepted, but they must be accepted with caution by anyone who has an eye to practical solutions. Granted the value of common life, how is it to be secured? What are the best means to attain it? The answer cannot be given in a single sentence. It is clear, however, that this general statement holds true—that it depends on the nature of the University whether residence is to be on a collegiate or a University basis. In Oxford or Cambridge we have an example of collegiate residence and the

highest perfection of common student life. Each College preserves its identity as distinct from the University, and the average student's life is bound up with the College life. The College affects him most: it gives him his social and intellectual *milieu*; it gives him his athletic facilities. The student is a student of this or that College of Oxford University. An Oxford or Cambridge student, in thinking of his University, thinks primarily of his College, which is only a relatively small unit in the University. Nevertheless, he is a student of Oxford or Cambridge. Just as the Colleges within the University are distinct, so, as regards relations external to the University, his unit is the University. Comparé, however, a student of another type of University—the unitary type or Scotch type. In Aberdeen University there are distinct Colleges—distinct as far as buildings are concerned, but an Aberdeen student will say he is a student of Aberdeen University, not of King's or Marischal College. In the one case, of Oxford or Cambridge, the student's most intimate life is with his College: in the other, the College and University interests are one. In the University with many distinct Colleges the University is the wider authority; it is too wide to be in close touch with him: all the same in sports, in the Union, and, above all, in central control and degree-giving it touches his life in many directions. But for the real "rubbing against his fellows" which makes the student, the living in College is of the greater value to him. His College life is intense, and the *intensity* of the life varies in inverse ratio with the *extensity* of the institution. One is naturally tempted to ask the reader to compare the political parallel of the intense, throbbing life of the City-State of Greece, with its small numbers, with the far less intense State life (of ordinary peace conditions) of the modern nation State. Aristotle regarded the actual working State as having certain limitations, the chief of which were first, that there should be a limit of numbers; secondly, that one general should be able to command the forces of the State, and thirdly,

that the State should be just so large that the citizens should know each other, and that the ruler should know the ruled. These limitations may be applied profitably to the College. The College should be limited in numbers so that the members should know each other and be able to have a sound common life ; it should not be unwieldy in organization ; it should allow only such numbers as the staff can deal with adequately, in both intellectual and social relations. And, we may add, if Aristotle's necessity of "self-sufficiency" can be applied to the College with any meaning, the residences should be collegiate. If the College is in all aspects completely dependent on the University, then there should be no collegiate residence.

We may, then, deduce this general principle of residence, *viz.*, where Colleges preserve their College identity, residence should be collegiate ; where the Colleges are not sufficiently marked off from the University to have such an identity, the residence should be University. It is somewhat surprising accordingly to find the statement of the London University Commissioners that "hostels should not be used as a means of strengthening the collegiate spirit,—but, on the contrary, that they should be under the general control of the University and should serve to promote a University *esprit de corps*." Such a statement might conceivably be true of Oxford or Cambridge, certainly not of London, where the Colleges are geographically, not to speak of socially, sexually and intellectually, widely separated. Inapplicable as it is to London, an hundredfold more so is it applicable to the many Universities of the London model. What does the University of New Zealand mean to the student of Dunedin, Christchurch, Auckland or Wellington? The name implies a central body, which comes into intimate contact with the students once or twice a year, at examination times. But Canterbury College, Christchurch or Auckland University College, and so forth, means to the student his common life, his

societies, his sport, his class rooms. His life is essentially collegiate : it is a University life by fits and starts. To come nearer home, Calcutta University means to the student merely an examining body, with volumes of rules. But the Colleges—Presidency College, the Scottish Churches and the others—they imply an intimate College life. The London University report in giving a generalization whose face value seems genuine, really goes against the sound lessons of experience. For, in a wide federal University, what would be gained by students of different Colleges staying together? Their interests would be common only in so far as they were knit together by the thin and weak thread of University life.

That this is not mere theory or hasty generalization on my part I can testify by actual experience of Calcutta students. In a recent enquiry into the conditions of students' residence in Calcutta, I found a universal desire on the part of students for *hostels*, i.e., *College* hostels. The residence next in rank of preference I found to be the attached messes, which are collegiate residences. The various unattached nondescript residences are very unpopular and only dire necessity makes students live in them. Even in some of these nominally unattached messes I found the students to be all of one College. That there is something in the collegiate spirit which is real may be evidenced by this, for in most respects the common life of the Calcutta University students is notoriously adventitious. But more of this later.

It may be argued that if there is only collegiate residence in a University, then the students of the University will not have a proper University *esprit de corps*. I have already indicated how the University *esprit de corps* is to be cultivated. There must be University undergraduate organizations to represent the University as a whole ; and the strength and vitality of these organizations will depend just on the measure in which they represent common life and interests. Hence it is no argument against collegiate

residence to say that, because other organizations for the whole University may be precarious or fail altogether, collegiate residence should not exist. In fact, the very failure of these organizations is just the proof of my argument. They fail because they do not represent a common life. It is hopeless to expect a successful residence system on a University basis if the more general emblems of unity are not successful. The best instance of the point in question is Calcutta University where the University organizations are lacking in vitality—for a very obvious reason. The University in its examining powers, it is true, is the focus of an intellectual community : but a centre of common life in the wider and fuller sense the University is *not* ; and I doubt very much if the well-meaning attempts of the many public-spirited men who are trying to foster a University *esprit de corps* in Calcutta will succeed in face of the many existing drawbacks. To make societies, unions, organizations (or even universities) where there is not a common spirit and common interest as basis is merely to add to the many conventional or artificial organizations which are from the nature of the case foredoomed to failure.

The theory of the London University Commissioners anent University residence (as against collegiate residence) is followed by these very sane views :—

“ The majority of the students in London will probably always be living at home, and for these in particular means must be found for intercourse with their fellows. They would gain immensely from the existence of a number of hostels in the suburbs, for the playing fields would be there, and there they would learn to know, as the guests of their friends in residence, the social side of University life. But this is not enough, the University should encourage the formation of central University societies for registered undergraduate and graduate students of both sexes, with certain rooms and halls to be used in common.....In these buildings (certain places specified by the Commissioners) the Students Representative Council and other University societies could meet regularly, and the College societies could also meet from time to time in common session. In this

way the students scattered through London for their studies would have a centre for common intêrcourse, while some of them would meet again under the University roof because they were residents in hostels forming the outer ring of University institutions."

For a University like London these organizations are the common University organs. They will represent University life (if University life exists); but why the Commissioners should desire University hostels in the face of both fact and reason, is not easily understood. Perhaps an examination of Calcutta University conditions will convince us more than ever of the falseness of the non-collegiate view; but such an analysis I must postpone to another number of the *Calcutta Review*.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE KHASIS.—By Lieutenant-Colonel Gurdon, C.S.I.,
Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam. Introduction by Sir C. Lyall, K.C.S.I. 2nd edition, illustrated with map, pages 24 and 232. (Macmillan and Co. 1914.)

From several points of view the Khasis may be reckoned as one of the most interesting of the many peoples that make up the population of our empire in India, and it is only fitting that such a full and able monograph should be issued under the orders of the Assam Administration. The first edition in 1906 was the first of a series on the more important tribes and castes of the province, and one notes with amusement that not only was the plan adopted as early as 1903, but that a uniform scheme of treatment was laid down which was to be adhered to in each monograph and certain limits of size were prescribed. Outside of Government departments, the natural line would have been followed of encouraging Colonel Gurdon and others, official and non-official, to collect and publish at the earliest opportunity all interesting and valuable matter with which they were acquainted. Had this been done, by learned society or otherwise, the result might have been very different. As one reads through the short and crisp introduction by Sir C. Lyall and studies point after point dealt with by Colonel Gurdon, one has to acknowledge that, with the exception of a few paragraphs on racial and linguistic affinities, this description of this hill people has been very long in coming. For more than two generations the language has been thoroughly known, and used by Europeans, missionaries and officials have been in closer contact with this people for over seventy years than they have been with races in almost any other part of India, and it is only now that a full description like this, written by one with a competent knowledge of general ethnography and its most recent advances, appears. Verily we have learned what is supposed to be one of the lessons taught by the East, to do nothing hastily.

In Western civilization there are relics of matriarchal institutions, standing out like the boulders dropped by the ice of a previous age, but they appear to us only as curiosities. Among the Khasis, a vigorous and sturdy race, these institutions are carried out logically and thoroughly. "Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family, in parts she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark. In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of tribal piety, the primal ancestress and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan, and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side." This, to the Western mind so extraordinary an institution, appears in most of the sections of Colonel Gurdon's book.

After the plains of Bengal and Assam the uplands and valleys of the Khasi Hills strike one as being, even for India, notably beautiful. The roads are not numerous—it is a serious matter to preserve and repair them owing to the enormous rainfall in many parts of the hills—but those that exist are excellent, and invite acquaintance with a wider district than that about Shillong. The hearty greetings of the people make one desire to know their language, in which jokes seem to have a great place. In the past twenty years a change has come over the modes of conveyance, motor cars and tongas have displaced the sturdy bearer with the basket (*khoh*) on his back, where one found a somewhat precarious seat. The coals of Cherrapunji are conveyed to Shillong and elsewhere by pony and cart.

Wherever possible the indigenous system of administration has been maintained, and in the British portion of the hills the Government has power to exclude legislation which may be inappropriate to the condition of the people. One of the most striking facts about this people is the success of Christian missions among them. The population consists of 161,000 animists and 28,000 Christians, mostly belonging to the Welsh Calvinistic Church. The Welsh missionaries have been entrusted with the greater part of the education in the hills, and their excellent work for the

elevation of the Khasis is freely acknowledged in this volume.

One might follow Colonel Gurdon in his illuminating chapters on Laws and Customs, Religion, especially in his chapter on the great memorial stones of the Khasis, and on folklore, where he acknowledges his indebtedness to that keen scholar and missionary, Rev. Dr. Roberts of Cherrapunji, and especially on language and racial affinities. Under the latter head one notes that it was an English scholar—Mr. J. R. Logan—that first showed the connection between Khasi and the languages of certain of the peoples of Farther India. His papers were published as far back as 1850 and 1857. Fifty years had to elapse before this work bore fruit in the researches of Schmidt of Vienna, Kuhn of Munich and Dr. Grierson. This whole question is so far-reaching and involves so many widely separated pieces of knowledge that it may require many years before even a likely settlement can be reached. It is already plain, however, that it carries with it not merely affinities between languages of isolated tribes, but linguistic problems affecting a great part of South-Eastern Asia. As has been already pointed out, much of the material for its solution has been at hand for many years, in *our* hands one remarks, and yet we are indebted to Austrian and German professors for working up the discoveries of men like Logan and the detailed writings of the men who have spent their lives in these hills, so as to approximate, to what may be really, a most important generalization. These two continental countries are not frightened to call forth the best intellectual energies of its students and scholars, nor to set them free for what seems to most men unproductive work, and they would certainly not dream of fixing the size of the monographs to be written by them. Colonel Gurdon, a busy Indian official, deserves the gratitude of scholars for this very readable and thorough study.

J. W.

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIAN TIBET. Part I.—

By H. H. Francke, Ph.D. (Archæological Survey of India.)

The Archæological Survey of India is greatly indebted to Dr. Francke for the time and talents he has devoted to the exploration of Indian Tibet. This sumptuous

volume contains his personal narrative of a tour he made in the year 1909. He travelled through a considerable portion of Indian Tibet, deciphering inscriptions, investigating the religious customs and mythology of the people, and collecting curiosities to enrich the Museums of Calcutta and Srinagar. It was not by any means an easy journey, and his adventures show him to have been an intrepid explorer. The crossings of some of the rivers by rope bridges suggest feats of aerial gymnastics. For the most part Dr. Francke travelled on foot, but occasionally the rarefied air of some of the mountain passes made this impossible and then the mountain *yak* came into his own. He must have been an exciting steed, as the following narrative shows: "The *esprit de corps* of the yaks was so strong that they insisted on doing everything together. Now, when the herd was stopped, one of the unladen yaks was singled out for my use and seized by the horns. Naturally he disliked the treatment, and whilst he was dancing round the man, I was supposed to fly through the air and drop on the yak's back. As soon as I had reached my seat and seized its mane, the nomad would let go the horns, and off went the yak galloping up and down the hillside until he had found his natural equilibrium, when he joined the herd again. Then when the yak had found his place in the list of snorting beasts, he would look out for another yak, his adversary, and poke him with his horns. Whenever one's own yak was charged by his adversary, one had to lift high the threatened leg and join in the struggle by using one's stick and umbrella." The book is enriched by over forty splendid plates, and there is a useful list of the antiquities which were the tangible results of Dr. Francke's interesting expedition.

W. S. U.

THE POST OFFICE.—By Rabindranath Tagore.
(Macmillan and Co.)

This little play in two acts would probably be misinterpreted if we attempted to find too much symbolical meaning in it. As Mr. W. B. Yeats hints in his Introduction, its meaning is not intellectual, but simple and emotional, and it is intended to produce an impression of rest and peace. If this is the intention, then it has been fully carried out. The imaginations of the little dying boy, Amal, are as bright sunbeams in the midst of a work-a-day world. His eager

spirit wins his guardian from his money-grubbing, the gruff headman from his condescension, and the curd-seller from his exclusive interest in lacteal products. All are eager to serve the little child, shut in from the great world outside and busy in the construction of a world of imagination. He does not want to be learned, like the doctor who bores him with text-book opinions; he wants "to go about and see everything that is!" The far away hill that he can see from his window is no barrier: he wants to go beyond and right away, always travelling further on, like the wandering fakir. He rules in his own world of makebelieve, does this little boy, and even the King has planted the Post Office and appointed postmen for the sole purpose of bringing letters to the wistful invalid. And, finally, the King's message comes and Amal passes into the world of which he had dreamed, perhaps to find that after all it was more real than that inhabited by the plain prosaic older people who, half-mystified, half understanding, stood round him as he closed his eyes.

W. S. U.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMICS FOR
INDIAN STUDENTS.—By W. H. Moreland,
C.S.I., C.I.E. (Macmillan and Co.)

The object of the author, as he himself says, is "to provide a statement of the leading ideas of modern economic science in terms that will be easily understood by Indian students."

For a long time it was thought that there could not be a science of economics based on Indian data. Mr. Ranade was the first man who urged that there was every possibility of evolving a science from Indian data. Custom, said he, was speedily breaking down and competition asserting itself. On the lines suggested by Ranade, Sir Theodore Morison wrote his book *The Industrial Organization of an India Province*. That is an excellent data-book on the basis of which a synthetic and systematic work may profitably be written. The present book is an attempt in this direction.

It is an elementary treatise which gives in clear outline the main features of economic science. The author has taken great pains to make the subject interesting to Indian students. One of the distinguishing features of the book is

the use by the author of Indian illustrations and this fact does far more to elucidate the subject to Indian students than any amount of theoretical discussion.

The author deals with the subject under four great heads—Production, Consumption, Demand and Supply and Distribution. Several of the chapters are admirably written—the chapter on Distribution more especially shows that the author, while availing himself of the stored-up knowledge of the past, has not overlooked the peculiar conditions of India. In the chapters on Mobility of Labour, on Efficiency of Labour, on Capital and on Organization of Production he has tried to see things in the light of Indian conditions. But while everywhere he provides a short and clear statement of things, nowhere has he gone into a detailed discussion of the problems he has introduced. While he has made use of copious Indian illustrations, he has kept clear of statistical verification. He has not treated the problems of International Trade, Foreign Exchange, the Mechanism of Exchange, Taxation, etc., etc. So that the book is after all a sort of preliminary study.

Taking the book as it is we must say that it is a clearly-written book and forms a good introduction for a student who is going on to more advanced study of the subject of Economics.

D. G. C.

REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1910-11.

The report of the Archæological Survey of India for the year 1910-11 is edited by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, who officiated as Director-General of Archæology in India from May 1910 to February 1912. It gives an elaborate account of the excavations made in about ten places of archæological interest in British India and contains more than fifty charming plates which illustrate very vividly the numerous archæological assets unearthed during the year under report.

The report opens with a lucid description of the operations at Saheth-Maheth in the Bahraich and Gonda districts, contributed by Mr. J. H. Marshall. A detailed account of a number of outlying monuments or *stupas* and monasteries is given here together with a list of coins and sculptures found inside them. It is followed by two similar articles from Mr. H. Hargreaves on the excavations at

Shah-Jiki Dheri and Takht-i-Bahi. The editor contributes the next two on "The Sacrificial Posts at Isapur" and "The Seven Pagodas." It is interesting to read here the interpretation of ancient texts of oriental literature in the light of these discoveries and also that of these discoveries in the light of the ancient texts, a number of which are quoted by the learned author. The excavations at Kasia in Gorakhpur District are dealt with by Mr. Hirananda Shastri, while Mr. F. E. Pargiter examines the "Kasia Copperplate" found in the course of the above exploration. Of the remaining three articles, the first two treat of the excavations at Ramatirtham and Hmawza and the discovery of Buddhistic monasteries on the Guru-Bhaktakonda and Durgakonda hills; and the concluding one is a short historical account of conservation works at Agra and its neighbourhood from the pen of Mr. Gordon Sanderson. Attempts have everywhere been made to ascertain the probable dates of the structures discovered in the various places.

Most of the discoveries relate to the life of Buddha and the rituals and customs introduced by Buddhism. They will doubtless throw a flood of light on Buddhistic literature and philosophy, and unravel many mysteries of Pali inscriptions and ancient Indian History. The plates testify to the high standard of attainment of the Indians in architecture and marble work. The report, as a whole, evinces an ardent spirit of research and the articles are full of promise for a more successful investigation of Indian antiquities.

K. D. C.

ANCIENT INDIA.—By E. J. Rapson. (Cambridge University Press.)

In this little volume Mr. Rapson attempts to cover the period from the earliest times to the first century A. D. The limits of the volume are perhaps somewhat narrow for successful accomplishment of so comprehensive an aim, but a great deal of valuable material has been collected. A considerable number of chapters is taken up with a description of the sources from which historical information may be drawn. Mr. Rapson lays great stress upon the historical value of the study of language and gives a clear account of the development of Sanskrit through the Vedic, epic, and classical stages, showing incidentally its relation

to the various contemporaneous dialects. The evidence of ancient coinage is also dwelt upon in an illuminating manner, as might be expected from such an authority on numismatics as Mr. Rapson. Several chapters are devoted to an account of the ancient literatures of India, and though the main facts are correctly stated, brevity of treatment prevents any very clear presentation of the development of thought. We are inclined to doubt also whether the lower limit of the *sutra* period should not be put somewhat later than Mr. Rapson is inclined to allow. Coming to history proper, Mr. Rapson passes in rapid review the Persian and Macedonian invasions of India. He pays a little more attention to the Maurya Empire, in regard to the political and municipal institutions of which he thinks our information is especially full. He gives an interesting account of the Bactrian Empire and its effect upon India, dwelling particularly upon the historical importance of the bilingual coinage belonging to this period. He considers that it is to this period (200—25 B.C.), when great princes ruled over the Punjab and what is now the N.-W. Frontier Province, rather than to the Macedonian conquests that we must trace the most permanent results of Greek influence in India. The book is enriched with numerous illustrations, of which full explanations are given, valuable geographical notes, a carefully constructed chronological table, and a bibliography of the most important works dealing with the period under review.

PERIODICALS.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—

October 1914.

The leading article in the number is one by Principal W. T. Davison on "Dante as a Spiritual Teacher." It sets out from a consideration of three recent books on Dante, but consists chiefly of an independent and illuminating study of the spiritual message of the poet. An article on "The Christian Ministry," by W. H. Griffith Thomas, treats the disputed question of Orders from the non-Anglican point of view. The writer finds that Apostolic Succession cannot be shown to be a historical fact, and that even although it could, the greater problem as to the character of the ministry thus transmitted would remain to

be solved and he himself holds that it is rather the nature of the Prophet than that of the Priest which is characteristic of it. "As to the personal succession guaranteeing the spiritual validity to Sacraments, the New Testament is silent. . . . It would seem that the primary and fundamental necessity for a true ministry is a succession of truth."* The article closes with a statement of the positive Evangelical view of the ministry.

Other articles of interest include one by John Masson entitled "A May Morning in the Louvre" and also one on "The Evangelical Presentation of Christianity" by Principal Garvie, which attempts at once to justify the attitude and to correct the defects of Evangelicalism.

Among the Notes and Discussions is an article on "The Significance of *Gitanjali*" by E. J. Thompson. The writer thinks that "for those Englishmen who are distressed over the mess we have made of Bengal and of Ireland, over the farce of education and the tragedy of character, Rabindranath Tagore is the most hopeful thing that has happened for fifty years. Remarkable in himself, he is still greater as a prophecy of what is to be. Through him we come to believe that the end of this mingling of East and West will be good and not evil."

THE THEOSOPHICAL PATH.—August 1914.

The opening article is on an interesting and, at present, much discussed question,—the consciousness of plants. The writer is inclined to allow such consciousness. In plants, as well as in other forms of existence, the cosmic mind is operative, only in its most latent and diffused form, bereft of the individuality of animals or the reflectiveness of man. Discussions on problems of education and heredity, a well illustrated description of recent excavations on the Palatine Hill in Rome, beautiful reproductions of Swedish photographs, etc., make up a number which is well up to the usual standard of this periodical.

"KOSMOS."—September-October 1914.—(Published in Calcutta.)

Kosmos is a highly interesting monthly journal of widely various information. The present number has on its title-page a picture of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and devotes a page or two to almost every subject of general or special

interest. Philosophers and scientists, artists and linguists, travellers and business men, poets and musicians, men and women, serious thinkers and common people—all alike will find something useful and enlightening in this publication. The articles on each subject have been chosen with care and will surely add to the literary worth and well-deserved popularity of this periodical. The pages are perforated, so that they may be torn and preserved, and the get-up is excellent, bright and attractive. It is a unique venture of its kind and we wish it a long life and considerable measure of success.

THE MONIST.—October 1914.

The most important articles in this issue of the *Monist* deal with Buddhistic subjects. That recognized authority on all things Eastern—Professor Richard Garbe—deals learnedly with the parallels which are to be found between Christian and Buddhistic Scriptures. He argues that there has been borrowing by the former from the latter, but somehow he fails to convince us that his conclusions are superior to those of Dr. Oldenberg, who argues that parallels indicate only the independent emergence of similar results from similar conditions. Professor Suzuki of Tokiyo University gives a most illuminating account of the differences between *Hinayana* and *Mahayana* Buddhism, the former being more ethical and the latter more metaphysical. The impressive part of his article is his transformation of the usually accepted doctrine of Karma, and in this transformation we may be permitted to trace the influence of Christian conceptions upon modern Japanese students of Buddhism. A somewhat powerful article upon “Unity of World Conception” and a discussion of epistemological problems in the Hon’ble Bertrand Russell’s usual recondite manner are the other most noteworthy contributions to the current issue.

HINDUSTAN REVIEW.—September, November and December 1914.

In the *Hindustan Review* for September, 1914, Dr. Ketkar has an interesting article on “Political and Social Reform,” in which he points out the wastefulness of a clamour for political reform which does not have an immediate practical aim. We are so often tempted to think that a mere

desire for possession prompts agitation. It is sometimes well to remember that no political reform is an end in itself. The Suffragettes in Britain really recognize this, for they definitely maintain that by the enfranchisement of women the interests of the great numbers of women employed in industry of various kinds will be the better attended to. And it is generally the moderates who take up this standpoint. Create a real need for a change in political institutions in the interests of the community at large and then political reform comes naturally in view of these economic, social, or educational necessities to which it is to minister. Dr. Ketkar spoils his article by his fear or scorn of those who might point to the big "holes" in the social system of India. He does not like the "foreign unfriendly gaze," but he takes consolation in the thought that Indians "in the consciousness of their superiority in morals" and in the knowledge of their high civilization of the past might also look askance at Western nations—which is all rather ridiculous, surely.

In the November and December issues of this *Review* the war absorbs interest. In the latter number Mr. R. G. Pradhan in an article, which somehow we remember reading in the *New Statesman* in September (the *Hindustan Review* does not acknowledge this), reviews the loyalty of India in this crisis. He considers that the explanation of this loyalty is not to be sought in sentiment but in something more like a high self-interest. "It is to be sought in the general consciousness among the Indian people, of the actual and potential benefits of the British connection, and in the reasoned conviction of the educated classes that the continuance of that connection for many years to come is absolutely necessary for India's natural self-realization, that it is only under the ægis of the British Crown that India can fully realize those noble social and political ideals which have been inspiring the better mind of the country since she came under the revitalizing influence of western civilization and western education."

The Czar's promise of autonomy to Poland inspires one writer to the hope that the King-Emperor and his Ministers of State may do equally well by India. Another writer looks at events from a different point of view. He considers that this war must convince all of the woeful collapse of Christianity. In making such a triumphant statement the writer has altogether failed to comprehend the true spirit of Christianity.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—October 1914.
(London : John Murray.)

The bulk of this number is taken up with articles directly or indirectly connected with the great war. First place must be given to Sir Valentine Chirol's masterly article on "The Origins of the Present War" which traces the evolution, during the last twenty years, of the policy which has led to this catastrophe. The doctrine that might is right cannot be called a novel thing in Germany. It was Bismarck's guiding principle and Frederick II. believed in it. William II., as we know, holds it true, but the former were discreet and he is not. Bismarck would never have danced his country into the present muddle. He was always careful to keep the wire intact between Russia and Berlin, and to refrain from a serious quarrel with England. For the latter reasons he strongly opposed naval expansion. Germany fell on evil days when William II. became her steward. We have a rapid but searching look at him on page 418. This striking sentence may be quoted : "Above all, he has always and at all times been a splendid actor, and alas ! also his own stage manager with the whole world as his stage." The Frenchman's remark is a barbed indictment of his policy : "William II. always offers to be your friend against somebody else. Otherwise your friendship has no value for him." Sir Valentine Chirol, writing with a profound knowledge of contemporary world politics, gives us clear insight into the maze from which Germany hoped to emerge as the world power. We read how the Emperor misled Turkey, made good his foothold in China, attempted to gain a footing in South America, and at a later stage dreamt of realms in Africa. It is amusing and at the same time enraging to recall by what devious methods he tried to embroil us with France, happily in vain. A most interesting account is given of the informal conversations between Germany and Britain, for a treaty of alliance, in 1901. We get a glimpse of what has hitherto been secret history. The writer himself played a part in this affair, and his opinion of German diplomatists was by no means heightened as the result. Since that unsuccessful attempt to gain our friendship for vile ends German policy has been bitterly hostile. Would the great war have broken out if there had been no Serajevo murders ? The attitude of Germany at the Hague Conference in 1907 showed plainly that she was keeping a naval war with us in view. Moreover

the whole German nation has been educated to regard this war as "inevitable and necessary and, indeed, as a moral duty which she owed to herself and to the world at large." Her miscalculations about the internal troubles of her enemies may have hastened it, but "the responsibility for it—a responsibility stretching back over a long space of years—already belongs to history."

Mr. H. C. Foxcroft's article on "Scharnhorst and National Defence" is also of great interest at this time. Scharnhorst is, or was six months ago, little more than a name to most Englishmen. Of humble birth, he entered the Hanoverian service in 1777 and was soon recognized as a military genius. At a later stage he became Director of the Military Academy at Berlin, and in spite of continual obstacles, mainly attributable to a vacillating King, he at last came to his own and saw his cherished schemes adopted. His influence over his pupils was profound. One of them was Clausewitz, of whom we have heard much in the last few months. Scharnhorst entered on his great work of organization at a time when the Prussian army was an antiquated institution. It lived on its traditions and was a useless thing when Napoleon was its opponent. Scharnhorst saw the necessity for reconstruction. He believed intensely in readiness for war, and this was only possible for the country which possessed a large body of men trained and disciplined. He believed it almost impossible to improvise infantry in war-time, though he did not overlook psychical factors in the strength of an army. As head of the Military Reorganization Commission he overhauled the army in all its branches. His later work was the creation of the militia and the civilian combatant or landsturm. It is significant that in those days Prussia upheld the right of the *non-uniformed* to defend their homes. Scharnhorst did not live to see the fruit of his energetic labours. He was wounded at the battle of Lutzen, and overwork following upon this, hastened his death. We cannot but admire him for the great work he did, and, if the present German military system is largely the result of his strenuous endeavours, we must remember that he served Prussia without being infected with the Prussian spirit.

Mr. Edgar Crammond writes with authority on "Economic Aspects of the War" and indicates the probable economic results by an examination of the effects produced by the Franco-Prussian War, the South African War and the Russo-Japanese War. It is significant to notice

how rapidly the various belligerents recovered from the effects of their wars. Britain alone had a slow recovery, and this may always be so, the reason being that London is the centre of the international financial system. The writer suggests that New York may attempt to wrest this remunerative privilege from her, but the likelihood is small owing to the alarm already shown by the New York bankers. It is encouraging to think that a vast expansion of trade will follow the great war, if past experience is to be trusted.

Lord Sydenham reviews the first two months of war on land, Mr. Hurd the first two months at sea. The Editor brings his account of the Home Rule Question up to date and has his usual stab at the Liberal Party and its leader. Among the articles of less general interest "The Soul of Queen Marguerite" and "The Classical Drama of Japan" are prominent.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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BELGAE

BY J. W. HOLME.

THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY years ago an English Expeditionary Force was fighting in the Low Countries, fighting too for the same ideals of political justice which, endangered, have brought us again into the field. Then as now, a weighty and finally decisive factor was Britain's power afloat, in the Pacific, the English Channel and the North Sea ; it was British seamanship and gunnery then that broke Spain's attempts at world-power, and when the history of the present war comes to be written, who will overestimate the influence of the same decisive elements ?

It is not my intention to deal historically with two significantly parallel situations in European affairs, but rather to point out a very piquant literary treatment of the doings of long-forgotten English soldiers who fought over the very ground which their descendants of the present day so heroically hold, and to show how Elizabethan worthies looked upon contemporary "Belgian Atrocities," which, brought about by Spanish "culture," make the results of German "culture" pale almost into insignificance. Read in the lurid light of the last six months in Belgium, the last cantos of Book V of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* seem almost a prophecy, allegorizing as they do the rising of the United Provinces. It is easy enough, indeed, to empty them of their contemporary

allusion, and with little straining, to apply them without loss of force to modern conditions.

Philip II. in 1555 became King of the Netherlands, through the abdication of his father, Charles V., and received the oath of allegiance from the deputies of the seventeen provinces. From that time onward his resolute endeavour was to stamp out Protestantism there, as he had done in Spain. His efforts culminated with the proclamation of the Inquisition in 1565 and the despatch of Alva in 1567 to supersede Margaret of Parma, the Regent. There followed in quick succession the formation of the "Council of Troubles," popularly known as the "Council of Blood," the condemnation of Egmont and Hoorn, and the defeat of the Dutch rebels under Lewis of Nassau at Jemmingen. Spenser thus describes the events :—

There eke he placed a strong garrison
And set a Sencschall of dreaded might
That by his powre oppressed every one,
And vanquished all ventrous knights in fight.
(F. Q., V. x. 30.)

But he had brought it now in servile bond,
And made it beare the yoke of Inquisition
Stryving long time in vaine it to withstond
Yet glad at last to make most base submission,
And life enjoy for any composition. (Ib. 27.)

The doings of the "Council of Blood" soon amounted to mere butchery. Alva himself boasted that during his time as Captain-General he had ordered the execution of more than 16,000 people. The land ran deep with blood ; the judicial proceedings of the Council were a mere farce, and fire, sword and halter could scarce keep pace with its output of condemned heretics.

He hath. . . .
Built a faire chappell, and an altar framed
Of costly Ivory fall rich beseene
On which that cursed Idole, fâre proclaimed [The Inquisition]
He hath set up. . . .

Offering to him in sinfull sacrifice
The flesh of men, to God's owne likenesse framed,
And powring forth their bloud in brutish wize
That any yron eyes to see it would agrize. (Ib. 28.)

For a time, Alva's triumph was complete ; William of Orange's military attempts had failed, he himself was a refugee in France ; Henry and Lewis of Nassau, despairing of success in arms against Alva, fought like paladins with the Huguenots at Jarnac and Moncontour. Then as now the alternative courses for the inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands were hopeless acquiescence or flight, and thousands drifted across the frontier to France, or across the narrow seas to England.

All her other children, through affray
Had hid themselves, or taken further flight. (*Ib.* 19.)

The centre of Alva's authority was Antwerp, where, to overawe its citizens, he had built an enormous fortress which in 1576 was garrisoned by half-mutinous Spanish troops. On 3rd November these rose, defeated German mercenaries sent to quell them, and for days the city was at their mercy. There followed that infamous "Spanish Fury," the records of which fill the most bloodstained page of the story of Spanish rule in the Netherlands. Spenser's account of this reads, indeed, almost like an anticipation of an official report of the modern "German Fury ;"

Her strong foe, who had defaced cleene
Her stately towres and buildings sunny sheene
Shut up her haven, mard her marchants trade
Robbed her people that full rich had beene,
And in her necke a Castle huge had made
The which did her command. (*Ib.* 25.)
So now he hath new lawes and orders new
Imposd on it with many a hard condition. (*Ib.* 27.)

It is no place here to follow the heroic efforts of William the Silent which culminated in the Union of Utrecht in 1579. It is at this point, however, that Spenser takes up the story again. At Arras, on 5th January, the southern provinces of Douay, Artois and Hainault formed a league for the protection of the Catholic religion ; the Protestant challenge was given at Utrecht, where the five provinces of Holland, Guelders, Zeeland, Utrecht and Friesland bound themselves as one body to defend their

liberties "with life, blood and goods." Spenser allegorizes the situation thus. Belgae is a widow, mother of seventeen stalwart sons, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries. But of these sons, only five remain, the five provinces participating in the Union of Utrecht; the rest have been slaughtered by her monstrous foe, Geryoneo, who is Philip of Spain.

Her name was Belgae; who in former age
A Ladie of great worth and welth had beene
And mother of a fruitfull heritage,
Even seventeene goodly sonnnes;

But this fell Tyrant, through his tortious powre,
Had left her now but five of all that brood
For twelve of them he did by times devoure,
And to his Idols sacrifice their blood. (Ib. 7-8.)

In these desperate straits, she sends over two of her five remaining sons, who appear at the court of Mercilla (Queen Elizabeth) imploring aid; Spenser seems almost to foreshadow here the famous "supreme appeal" of King Albert last August.

There came two Springalds of full tender yeares,
Farre thence from forrein land where they did dwell,
To seeke for succour of her and her Peares,
With humble prayers and intreatfull teares." (Ib. 6.)

Mercilla listens to their appeals, and Prince Arthur undertakes the quest to succour Belgae. Here begins Spenser's allegorization of the part taken by Leicester, with 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse, in the defence of the Low Countries; but with all the tact of the court poet, he carefully suppresses the huckstering spirit in which Elizabeth granted aid. She demanded, as her side of the bargain, Brill, Flushing and Rammekens as security for her expenses, and for months haggled like a fishwife over the price of her wares. Eventually on 19th December 1585, Leicester landed at Flushing, the States of Holland declaring that they looked upon him "as sent from Heaven for their deliverance." Spenser tells of the preparations of the English force, regarding them as the arming of a knight.

Then he straightway
Himselfe unto his journey gan prepare,
And all his armours readie dight that day. (*Ib.* 16.)

Prince Arthur arrives betimes in the land of Belgae, and finds her in woeful plight,

Within the land where dwelt that Ladie sad
Whereof that Tyrant had her now deprived,
And into moores and marshes banisht had
Out of the pleasant soyle and cities glad
In which she wont to harbour happily. (*Ib.* 18.)

There follows a picture of the distress of the Low Countries, every word of which has a poignant appeal to-day, when the reorganized remnants of the heroic Belgian army are holding so tenaciously to that attenuated strip of territory which is still left to them, and when Louvain, Malines, Ypres and Rheims bear smoking witness to the "German Fury."

"Ay me" (sayd she) "and whither shall I goe?
Are not all places full of forrein powers?
My pallaces possessed of my foe,
My cities sackt, and their sky-threatning towers
Raced and made smooth fields now full of flowers?
Only these marishes and myrie bogs
In which the fearefull ewftes do build their bowers
Yceld me an hostry mongst the croking frogs
And harbour here in safety from those ravenous dogs."

At this point, Spenser forsakes history. Leicester spent little more than eighteen months in the Low Countries, and his short period of office as Governor-General was one of constant and tactless strife with the States-General. The English force accomplished little or nothing, in spite of the chivalrous knight-errantry of Sidney and his companions. Leicester departed on 6th August 1587, and the liberation of Holland was left to Maurice of Nassau, and indirectly to the maritime power of England. Spenser, however, makes Prince Arthur overcome in turn the Seneschal, Geryoneo, and the monstrous beast that typifies the Inquisition. But the second part of the *Faerie Queene* was published in 1596, a year before Maurice of Nassau's brilliant campaign, which preluded the triumph of the States-General, and the supremacy of the Prince of Orange.

Spenser, "sage and serious," sums up the whole matter in a stanza that to-day seems of particular force.

It often fals, in course of common life
That right long time is overborne of wrong,
Through avarice, or powre, or guile, or strife,
That weakens her, and makes her party strong ;
But Justice, though her doom she do prolong,
Yet at the last she will her own cause right :
As by sad Belge seems ; whose wrongs though long
She suffred, yet at length she did requight,
And sent redresse thereof by this brave Briton Knight. (*Ib.* 1.)

In the end, Prince Arthur leaves Belgac, restored to her country, her people free and prosperous. Is not Spenser also among the prophets ?

"O most redoubted knight
The which hast me, of all most wretched wight
That carst was dead, restor'd to life againe,
What guerdon can I give thee for thy paine ?" (*Ib.* 16).

There he with Belgac did awhile remaine,
Making great feast and joyous merriment
Untill he had her settled in her raine
With safe assurance and establishment. (*Ib.* 35.)

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MAETERLINCK AND HIS MESSAGE.

BY ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NO account of the person and thought of Maurice Maeterlinck is adequate without a foreword emphasizing the fact that more than one writer of those who know him intimately have been impressed by the simplicity of his life and character and the quietness of his manner. It is said that on one of the walls of the disused monastery which Maeterlinck has converted into his summer residence, the soul of an old-world monk has found permanent expression in a distich that might be used by the present owner of the Abbey as a motto for his own message to the world—

“O beata solitudo,
O sola beatitudo.”

I have said, Maeterlinck's message to the world. Is he also, then, among the prophets? He would himself probably answer, as he once did to a lady in London, that he is merely a writer of books. That is a way prophets have when they speak of themselves. But there are many people who recognize in Maeterlinck the authority of a master, and few can deny that his message, though it has been relegated to the moles and the bats by the Vatican, comes to this age as a living word. There is a quivering intensity about his books that cannot be made light of,—not the intensity of the modern world that is in a fever of desire, but the calm intensity of a strong man who is no stranger to “die stille Wüste.” Maeterlinck is a prophet, not of Religion in the accepted sense of that term, but of the life of healthy-mindedness and of straightforwardness and of the truly spiritual love. An eminent American teacher of philosophy has written of the “Philosophy of Maeterlinck.” But this designation also can be applied to

him only in a modified sense, in the sense that is to say of those moderns who believe that nothing is true that can be stated systematically and succinctly. It is true that Maeterlinck has written at least three books which may be regarded as attempts to treat certain themes exhaustively. But in one of these very books he warns us quite as definitely as M. Bergson himself might, that truth is a thing that grows and lives. "But what may this wisdom be that we rate thus highly? Let us not seek to define it too closely; that were but to enchain it Truly wise you are, not unless your wisdom be constantly changing from your childhood on to your death." This is an idea that recurs in his writings. In the form of poetry it may be said that "the blue bird does not exist, or that he changes colour when he is caged." Though the thought of Maeterlinck is not fixed and crystallized, we cannot describe it as wayward. He has probably changed his point of view, but his face has undoubtedly been constantly turned to a great and distant end. Now and again one may be inclined to feel that his teaching on certain aspects of human life bears too clear evidence of the solitude that he cherishes. But after all it may be that the visions of the life that ought to be, and, so far forth, the only life that truly is, agree not at all with the inferences which we form from the grouping of observations of things that do appear.

Maurice Maeterlinck was born of good Flemish stock in the town of Ghent on the twenty-ninth day of August in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-two. His father was a small landowner, and therefore above the necessity of earning his living in the pursuit of his profession of notary. But he had his son trained to the profession of Law. It is worth remembering that Maurice received his schooling in a Jesuit academy that aimed at turning out priests. This fact sheds light on certain of his ways of looking at life's problems. Though born in comparative affluence and well educated, he seems to cultivate a regard for the common people. It is written

that on one occasion, replying to a letter of a friend who invited him to dinner in Paris he consented "on condition you receive me with the most absolute simplicity. All ceremony alarms me. I am a peasant." His father planned to make of him a lawyer, but his destiny meant him to achieve something different. It is said that he actually tried to build up a practice, but signally failed. Nature did not endow him with the utterance which a successful pleader needs. At any rate he never won a case, though he is said to have had one or two briefs.

His entrance upon the life of letters is full of romance. One writer, greatly daring, likens it to the birth at Bethlehem in respect of its lowliness. There was no publisher in Belgium who would undertake to place before the world his earliest efforts in literature. His first book was printed by himself and his friends in a narrow room, and Maeterlinck himself turned the wheel of the printing machine. He sprang into fame on account of a somewhat rhetorical review which M. Mirbeau contributed to the columns of the *Figaro*. "I know nothing of M. Maurice Maeterlinck," so ran the review, "I know not whence he is, nor how he is. Whether he is old or young, rich or poor, I know not. I only know that no man is more unknown than he; and I know also that he has created a masterpiece, not a masterpiece labelled masterpiece in advance, such as our young masters publish every day, sung to all the notes of the squeaking lyre—or rather of the squeaking flute of our day; but an admirable and a pure eternal masterpiece, a masterpiece which is sufficient to immortalize a name, and to make all those who are an-hungered for the beautiful and the great rise up and call this name blessed; a masterpiece such as honest and tormented artists have, sometime, in their hours of enthusiasm, dreamed of writing and such as up to the present not one of them has written This work is called *La Princesse Maleine*." He had come to his own Flemish folk, but they received him not: it was in

Paris that he really came into his kingdom. This was in the year 1889. From that time onward there has issued from his mind a series of works that have made his name honoured all over Europe, and even in his native Belgium.

His plays are more numerous than we can even mention at the present time, and from the point of view of the writer's teaching as distinct from his art only one or two of the latest and the most popular need claim our attention. From this our point of view it is his essays that are most important, and there is a sense in which they may be looked upon as interpretations of his art. The play lends itself to the expression of ideas that are only tentative for their author, indeed the ideas may imply more than the author himself has clearly in view: in the essays, on the other hand, we can more easily discern, if not the settled convictions of the author, at least the lines on which his mind is moving to a fixed conclusion. The chronological order of the essays is of some value to us in that it indicates the movement of his mind. The earliest volume of essays is the *Treasure of the Humble*, a book which can be quite easily associated with the translations of the mystics Ruysbroeck and Novalis which were the first of his prose works. The *Treasure of the Humble* appeared in the year 1897 and it has been followed in quick succession by *Wisdom and Destiny*, *The Life of the Bee*, *The Buried Temple*, *The Double Garden*, *Life and Flowers*, *Death and Our Eternity*. The last named book appeared just last year and it is a development of *Death*. This theme of immortality first appeared in *Life and Flowers*. It is significant that Maeterlinck has been reverting so often to this great and central theme.

Mr. Alfred Sutro, who has translated some of Maeterlinck's books into English, has written thus of the growth of his thought:—"The mysticism of his early years began to fall from him; he looked clearly into life, loving it, seeing hope and beauty there; he grew impatient of dogma, but found a bridge that

seemed to bring him near to the one God. Strange blend of philosopher and poet, so powerfully, unconquerably sane that he could venture upon lonely giddy heights from which others shrank and fell back; his glance and step did not falter; and from those heights he looked upon men, and always with love and pity. Never a word of bitterness in all his books, of disappointment or disillusion, but only of wonder, admiration, sympathy. So he wrote on sorrow and death, and justice, and beauty, and happiness; and the serene simple mind of the man entered his work, and his books found their way into the hands of many people and brought them comfort." (*Bookman*, April, 1910.) This statement contains so much that is true that we do not trouble at this point to controvert the statement that Maeterlinck has departed from his early mysticism. The term mysticism has unfortunately suffered much from those who do not see in it more than its etymological meaning. The word has a history and is related to real men, and in the course of its history it stands for that clearness of spiritual vision which is possessed by those who are in the immediate presence of Being. If Maeterlinck was ever a mystic, he is such in his latest work. But that point deserves more detailed treatment.

Mr. Sutro speaks of the sanity of the man and his writing. This is closely connected, I think, with his simplicity, and is nowhere better manifested than in his mode of life. Though he has written so many books, he does not seem to write much. It is said that two hours in the morning are sufficient to enable him to put on paper the ideas that he has pondered over for a day. So little writing leaves much time for extensive reading. Though by no means a bookworm, he must traverse a wide tract of literature. His early studies of the mediæval mystics led him to the fountain head of Western mysticism. He mastered the English of Chaucer and read most of the Elizabethan drama. He acknowledges his

indebtedness to Emerson, and even a casual reader can see that he has not neglected the English and American philosophers and men of science or the thought of India. Wide reading leaves him, however, time to spend in the garden among his flowers and bees, not to wander aimlessly, but to observe with a love and a completeness that many a botanist and apiarist might well envy. When he wishes to escape from empty talk he finds his turning-lathe an instrument of health. Like Tolstoi he seems to have learned the sanctifying power of manual labour. He seems to be a man of his hands in other ways also. It is in no dilettante spirit that he has written in praise of the fist and the sword. The shoulders that his photographs reveal, and the firm jaw set above a stout neck look as if they were made for a boxer. From all accounts he might be capable of great endurance and agility in the use of the rapier. He is fond of motoring and cycling; and in all kinds of weather, he may be seen spinning alongside the long dreary canals. A man whose gifts range from mysticism to pugilism cannot surely be onesided. This sanity of his character is of great importance, for it guarantees a complete and full vision of life. It may be that a neglect of some aspect of our complex nature is the chief cause of the defects in our philosophies. It is significant that Maeterlinck insists in his essays that not the sacrifice of renunciation, but the fullness of life is the foundation of truth.

A man who seems to believe that the sanctification of life consists in the fullest expansion of our human nature, though fond of solitude, must have a home. One of the most important events in the life of Maeterlinck, as it is among the most important events in the lives of all men, was his marriage. Madame Georgette Leblanc is one of the best interpreters of the spirit of her husband's plays. She is also a true helpmeet, for she knows how to inspire his work, and to save him from the blatant folly of the world. It is right that Maeterlinck should have a good

wife ; for his ideal of womanhood is very high, and only a good woman could make him happy.

Mention has just been made of Maeterlinck's essays in praise of the sword and of the fist in order to emphasize two things, yea three, that are essential in his teaching. The first is that man should have no pettiness in him : he should be at all times master of his fate. And yet the true order is essentially democratic—this is the second point. The third is that man should be perfectly developed in all the activities of his nature. "Look at two draymen, two peasants that come to blows : nothing could be more pitiable. After a copious and dilatory broadside of insults and threats, they seize each other by the throat and hair, make play with their feet, with their knees, at random, bite each other, scratch each other, get entangled in their motionless rage, dare not leave go, and if one of them succeed in releasing an arm, he strikes out blindly and most often into space a series of hurried, stunted and sputtering little blows ; and the combat would never end if the treacherous knife evoked by the shame of the incongruous sight, did not suddenly, almost spontaneously leap from the pocket of one of the two.

"On the other hand watch two pugilists : no useless words, no gropings, no anger ; the calmness of two certainties that know what lies before them. The athletic attitude of the guard, one of the finest of which the male body is capable, logically exhibits all the muscles of the organism to the best advantage. From head to foot not a particle of strength can now go astray. Every one of them has its pole in one or other of the two massive fists charged to the full with energy. And the noble simplicity of the attack. Three blows, no more, the fruits of secular experience, mathematically exhaust the thousand useless possibilities hazarded by the uninitiated. Three synthetic, irresistible, unimprovable blows. As soon as one of them frankly touches the adversary, the fight is ended, to the complete satisfaction of the conqueror,

who triumphs so incontestably that he has no wish to abuse his victory, and with no dangerous hurt to the conquered, who is simply reduced to impotence and unconsciousness during the time needed for all illwill to evaporate." . . . "It may seem paradoxical, but the fact is easily established that the science of boxing, in those countries where it is generally practised and cultivated, becomes a pledge of peace and gentleness." One of the most efficient levelling instruments in European politics was the pike. When common men realized that this simple weapon made them the equal in combat of any knight in the land, they were led to understand their own worth. The proper use of weapons that Nature has given to all alike, and the recognition that they are to be used by strict rule, would go a long way to reduce the insolence to which simple men are subjected by the merely clever. But the third lesson of the fist is the nearest to the heart of the teaching of Maeterlinck, the lesson namely that our present education tends to do us an injury in so far as it does not develop in harmony our various instincts. We shall exemplify this doctrine more fully from another of his books.

But before we pass from this question of physical development and strength it is necessary to insist that Maeterlinck is no blind worshipper of physical force. Like every man of his hands he is a man of peace. The essay on the fist is followed immediately by one, and a remarkable one, on the forgiveness of injuries. Maeterlinck served the appointed time in the citizen army of his country, and his experience of the army has not made him a Jingo. He makes Night in the *Blue Bird* warn us against wars: "Take care it is the wars. . . . They are more terrible and powerful than ever. . . . Heaven knows what would happen if one of them escaped?" . . . "Yes, yes," says Tytyl, "they are huge and awful. . . . I don't think that they have the Blue Bird."

When Maeterlinck writes of his friends the Bees, he claims to be strictly scientific. "My facts shall be as

accurate as though they appeared in a practical manual or scientific monograph, but I shall relate them in a livelier fashion than such works would allow, shall group them more harmoniously together, and blend them with freer and more mature reflections." How far those freer reflections have tainted his observation it is immaterial to enquire. The point which has to be made clear is that he finds in bees and flowers a wisdom that he does not fully distinguish from the wisdom of man. "We shall see that the flower sets man a prodigious example of insubmission, courage, perseverance and ingenuity." Again of the bees he writes as if they were moved not simply in response to stimuli from their environment and from their own internal needs, but by a spiritual principle akin to that which mysteriously moves human society—a principle which he calls the spirit of the hive. It is this and not the queen that determines the swarm. This principle has the gift of prescience, and it leads to a social morality which is more than human. "Finally it is the spirit of the hive that fixes the hour of the great annual sacrifice to the genius of the race, the hour that is of the swarm, when we find a whole people, who have attained the topmost pinnacle of prosperity and power, suddenly abandon to the generation to come their wealth and their palaces, their homes and the fruits of their labour; themselves content to encounter the hardships and perils of a new and distant country. This act, be it conscious or not, undoubtedly passes the limits of human morality." "Why enquire as to whether this idea be conscious or not? Such speculation can have value only if our anxiety be to determine whether our admiration should more properly go to the bees that have the idea or to nature that has planted it in them." Maeterlinck sees, as the Fairy in his *Blue Bird* does, beyond the outward show of things to their inner living heart. "All stones are alike," says the Fairy, "all stones are precious; but man sees only a few of them." The Cat also in that play sees into the soul of things. "Listen to me," she says, "all of

us here present, Animals, Things, Elements, possess a soul which man does not as yet know. That is why we retain a remnant of independence : but if he finds the Blue Bird, he will know all, he will see all and we shall be completely at his mercy. . . . That is what I have just learned from my old friend, Night, who is also the guardian of the mysteries of life."

This may be only poetry : it may also be a mystical way of expressing truth that can only be expressed symbolically. The point of it all is that in nature there is a guiding which is none the less efficient because it is not self-conscious. In man, too, it is really the sub-conscious mental processes that are of most value. We glorify intellect and ratiocination : Maeterlinck insists that there is in us a principle more valuable than ratiocination. " Our reason," says Fenelon, " is derived from the clearness of our ideas." And Maeterlinck adds, " But our wisdom, in other words all that is best in our soul, and our character is to be found above all in those ideas that are not yet clear. Were we to allow our clear ideas only to govern our life, we should quickly become undeserving of either much love or esteem. For truly what could be less clear than the reasons that bid us be generous, upright and just ; that teach us to cherish in all things the noblest of feelings and thoughts. But it happily so comes to pass that the more clear ideas we possess, the more do we learn to respect those that as yet are still vague." This wisdom is love. " Wisdom is the lamp of love, and love is the oil of the lamp. Love sinking deeper grows wiser, and wisdom that springs up aloft comes ever the nearer to love. If you love you must needs become wise, be wise and you surely shall love. Nor can anyone love with the veritable love but his love must make him the better, and to grow better is but to grow wiser." This wisdom since it is not a thing of the intellect can be attained by even the smallest and the lowliest, if only they learn that most elementary of human lessons, to love. " The greatest advantage of love is that

it gives us occasion to love and admire in one person, sole and unique; what we should have had neither knowledge nor strength to love and admire in the many; and that thus it expands our heart for the time to come. And at the root of the most marvellous love there never is more than the simplest felicity, an adoration, a tenderness within the understanding of all, a security, faith and fidelity all can acquire, an intensely human admiration, devotion—and all these the eager, unfortunate heart could know too, in its sorrowful life, had it only a little less impatience and bitterness, a little more initiative and energy.”

The mysterious working of this love that is wisdom and its opposition to the love that is mere impulse is admirably brought out in two of Maeterlinck's plays. In *Monna Vanna* the heroine at the climax of the play is presented with the two kinds of love, and she chooses the more spiritual, for this is her destiny. In *Mary Magdalene* the climax comes when Mary has to choose between the love of a Roman officer and the love of the Christ. She thinks to begin with that the love of the Christ requires her to attempt to save his life; but gradually in a mysterious manner, whose effect is most impressive, she realizes that the spiritual love involves obedience to the destiny that is the fulfilment of the character of the Christ. This is one of the most distinctive, and one may add one of the most important, of the teachings of Maeterlinck. In the *Blue Bird* he makes Light, who is the best friend of man, say, “I shall always be good to those who love one another.”

This doctrine, which finds the guiding principle of life in intuition, instinct, and the more indefinite and elusive of our mental processes, though characteristic of the teaching of Maeterlinck, is by no means peculiar to it. The doctrine is an old one which has been revived of late with special emphasis. The idea has been floating in the spiritual atmosphere, and Maeterlinck has become infected

by it ; and perhaps he has himself been a means of spreading the infection.

When we say this, we exemplify in Maeterlinck himself another of his characteristic ideas. He explains many of the activities of bees as responses to the promptings of the spirit of the hive ; and similarly many human ideas as they appear in the experience of the individual are just the uprush of a spiritual life that is diffused in the race. " It happens somewhat with the thoughts of men as with a fountain ; for it is only because the water has been imprisoned and escapes through a narrow opening that it soars so proudly into the air. As it issues from this opening and hurls itself towards the sky, it would seem to despise the great, illimitable, motionless lake that stretches out far beneath it. And yet, say what one will, it is the lake that is right. . . . To us the species is the great unerring lake." Here we are led to the borders of a great truth which is beginning to receive the attention of scientific psychologists. Maeterlinck regards this racial fount of experience in a purely naturalistic way. He does not see, what some of our more systematic thinkers have been declaring, that this spirit of the hive, this spirit of a race or of a people may be a semi-divine or at least a superhuman entity. The emphasis which Maeterlinck lays on instinct and the allied mental processes may be carried too far as in the passage which has just been quoted from *The Buried Temple*. The direction in which this idea may be pushed with greater safety is that indicated in *The Life of the Bee*. " Who shall say where the wisdom resides that can thus balance present and future, and prefer what is not yet visible to that which already is seen ? Where the anonymous prudence that selects and abandons, raises and lowers ; that of so many workers makes so many queens, and of so many mothers can make a people of virgins ? We have said elsewhere that it lodged in the ' spirit of the hive,' but where shall this spirit of the hive be looked for if not in the assembly

of workers?" "The assembly of workers"—there surely is the home of truth and of salvation.

It is just at this point that the mysticism of Maeterlinck is most manifest. It is not the mysticism of mediæval saints, and yet it has something in common with even them. "Maeterlinck represents a manner of mysticism—if so label it we must—which is unique in history: a naturalistic, yes if you will a materialistic mysticism. I know no writer of our day," continues Professor Dewey, "who accepts more frankly or who welcomes more bravely than Maeterlinck all the methods and results of the natural sciences and without discount and without evasion. I know of no other writer who maintains such a vivid, intimate and personal sense of the change wrought, and wrought for the better, in our inmost moral being by that development of naturalistic intelligence we call science."

An idea that we have had to use, and that occurs frequently in the writings of Maeterlinck, often to the confusion of his reader, is the idea of Destiny. In his earliest plays, and perhaps also in his latest ones, his characters move as if impelled by a force over which they have no control. We are often reminded that in the *Blue Bird* the scene which represents the souls that are to be born waiting each with something that he is to perform readymade before he enters on this life, teaches a kind of predestination. If the Kingdom of the Future in the *Blue Bird* stands for any such idea it is in complete contradiction of the very clear teaching of *Wisdom and Destiny*. Therefore he writes, "And if it be true that some kind of predestination governs every circumstance of life, it appears to be no less true that such predestination exists in our character only; and to modify character must surely be easy to the man of unfettered will, for is it not constantly changing in the lives of the vast bulk of men." We should observe that in the *Blue Bird* there is no mention of any power creating the soul that is to come into this world, and

there is nothing to show that it is an unseen power other than the soul herself that creates the action, and the inventions that she is to bring into our world.

We have had occasion to notice that Maeterlinck believes that it is in the fullness of life, and not in death, that our destiny is best fulfilled. But in renunciation that our destiny is best fulfilled, the desirability of we must not imagine that his insistence on the desirability of happiness marks him as a hedonist, or as one who has shut out sacrifice from his scheme of life. He is aware of the fundamental paradox of Hedonism, that happiness can be got only by forgetting it; the Blue Bird either dies or changes colour when we cage it. Tytyl finds that the Blue Bird of happiness and wisdom is his own pet dove, and that it is bluest when he gives it away to the sick child of Madame Berlingot. Sacrifice may be a positive or a merely negative thing; it may be a concomitant or a means of the highest life, or it may be regarded as an end in itself. Maeterlinck does not think it a thing which is desirable in itself, but he recognizes that it is inevitable in the life of the wise man. "There is beauty in simple self-sacrifice when its hour has come unsought, when its motive is happiness of others; but it cannot be wise or of use to mankind to make sacrifice the aim of one's life, or to regard its achievement as the magnificent triumph of the spirit over the body. (And here let us add that infinitely too great importance is generally ascribed to the triumph of spirit over body, these pretended triumphs being most often the total defeat of life.) Sacrifice may be a flower that virtue will pluck on its road, but it was not to pluck this flower that virtue set forth on her travels. . . . It is easier far as a rule to die morally, nay even physically for others, than to learn how best we should live for them."

The chief gift that any man can make to his fellowmen is a character lofty and pure. "You are told you should love your neighbour as yourself; but if you love yourself meanly, childishly, timidly, even so shall you love your

neighbour therefore to love yourself with a love that is large and complete. . . . We should to ourselves and for all that it is the first duty of the soul to become as happy, complete, independent and great as lies in its power. Herein is no egoism or pride. To become effectually generous and sincerely humble there must be within, a confident, tranquil, and clear comprehension of all that we owe to ourselves. To this end we may sacrifice even the passion for sacrifice; for sacrifice never should be the means of ennoblement, but only the sign of our being ennobled."

This first counsel sounds somewhat like that of a mediæval monk—good counsel in all truth, but inadequate is it not in a world that is sunk in all manner of social inequality and injustice? Is the ennobling of our own hearts the whole duty of man or only a chief part? The life of the Bees had taught him social duties enough, even though his mediævalism has been more monastic than it is. "If a being exist whom his destiny calls most specially to live and to organize common life in accordance with pure reason, that being is man. And yet see what he makes it; compare the mistakes of the hive with those of our own society. How should we marvel, for instance, were we bees observing men, as we noted the unjust, illogical distribution of work among a race of creatures that in other directions appear to manifest eminent reason. We should find the earth's surface, unique source of all common life, insufficiently, painfully cultivated by two or three-tenths of the whole population; we should find another tenth absolutely idle, usurping the larger share of the products of this first labour; and the remaining seven-tenths condemned to a life of perpetual half-hunger, ceaselessly exhausting themselves in strange and sterile efforts whereby they never may profit, but only render more complex and more inexplicable still the life of the idle. We should conclude that the reason and the moral sense of those beings must belong to a world entirely

different from our own, and that they must obey principles hopelessly beyond our comprehension." Maeterlinck is quite in the line of the mediæval mystics in laying alongside of his demand for a fully sanctified character an equally clear demand for a society founded on justice. One of his best essays is concerned with our social duty, and it opens with a statement which is revolutionary enough. "Let us start fairly with the great truth: for those who possess there is only one certain duty, which is to strip themselves of what they have, so as to bring themselves into the condition of the mass that possesses nothing. It is understood in every clear thinking conscience that no more imperative duty exists; but at the same time it is admitted that this duty for lack of courage is impossible of accomplishment. . . . Let this truth govern us. Let us not forget that we are speaking in its shadow and that our boldest, our utmost steps will never lead us to the point at which we ought to have been from the first." But what are we to do? Are we to side with the forces that are disorganizing Society or must we be loyal to those that are maintaining its present condition? Maeterlinck does not answer directly this his own question, but he argues that many of the time-honoured reasons for maintaining the *status quo* are not valid. His one desire is that we do not lose sight of Justice, and he is aware that in spite of the great advances which Society has recently made the condition of affairs is such that Equity would mean disorganization and revolution. He desires the time when all mankind shall have leisure to prosecute the chief end of man. "It is incontestable that when it shall be given to all men to apply themselves to the task at present reserved for a few favourites of chance, humanity will increase a thousandfold its prospects of attaining the great mysterious aim." One thing he is quite clear about, that the highest truth does not come to us by moderation, by following the decent average. "Has not mankind yet lived long enough to realize that it is

always the extreme idea that is the highest idea, the idea at the summit of thought that is right."

The recent decree of the Vatican to put the works of Maeterlinck on the Index adds an element of sensation to the question of his relation to Religion. When his translations of the mystics with their admirable introductions first appeared, some of the orthodox hailed this dawn with acclamation as evidence that there had arisen a great light upon the faith once delivered to the Saints. Such expectation has been falsified in a sense. As we have already noted Maeterlinck advanced beyond the position of the mediæval mystics, and even beyond his own appreciation of them, though he has retained much of their spirit. "For a religion to become extinct is no new thing. It must have happened more than once in the night of time ; and the annalists of the end of the Roman Empire make us assist at the death of paganism. But until now men passed from a crumbling temple into one that was building ; they left one religion to enter another ; whereas we are abandoning ours to go nowhither." This seems more irreligious than Maeterlinck's essays as a whole show him to be. The spirit of our age is critical of dogma and ecclesiastical order, but it is intensely interested in the central facts of religion. Maeterlinck is in this matter also a child of the spirit of our time." No one of our modern men of letters has turned more persistently than he to the question of immortality, which is at the very heart of all religion : on our answer to this question turns largely the kind of answer we give to the questions of the nature of God and of our relation to Him. In one of his earlier essays he argues in an indefinite way for a kind of immortality and in the *Blue Bird* it is clear that he holds this idea. "When the children look among the graves for the dead one of them says, 'Where are the dead ?' and her brother answers, 'There are no dead ;' and in another place in the same play it is said, 'How can they be dead when they live in your memory Men do not know this secret, because they

know so little ; whereas you, thanks to the diamond, are about to see that the dead who are remembered live as happily as though they were not dead.' ” Then there appeared a special essay dealing with this subject under the title *Death*. He was not satisfied with that treatment of the question, and the essay reappeared last year in completer form under the title *Our Eternity*. This essay has the form of a systematic treatise, but Maeterlinck, in spite of all his efforts cannot be a philosopher, for he is really a poet ; and perhaps it is as poet that he has most insight. He is fully aware of the centre of this problem, but he does not focus attention on the centre as he ought, and bring out what is involved in the central idea. He pays much attention to the feelings of dread with which men regard death, but he might have learned from men like Martineau a better lesson to draw from those feelings. He is aware that no first-class thinker ever contemplated the annihilation of our being : it must persist as all Being must, and the question is as to the form in which it does persist. Shall we continue with our present consciousness or with a modified consciousness, or are we to survive without any consciousness ? Here Maeterlinck is guilty of that over-refining which hides the true issue. Survival without any consciousness is no more immortality than complete annihilation. He is really aware of this, for when discussing the Theosophical hypothesis of reincarnation he remarks, “ What has not been demonstrated in any way and will perhaps remain indemonstrable is the reincarnation of the whole identical individual, notwithstanding the abolition of memory. But what matters to him that reincarnation if he be unaware that he is still himself.” What, we might add, is any kind of immortality unless it is a continuation of individuality ? The question of immortality is thus just the question of individuality— are we individuals now, and is this individuality as we think we possess it a thing which is essential to the scheme of things ? It is out of place to speak dogmatically of the

opinions of a writer who has more to say ; and perhaps what concerns the world most is not the way in which a writer like our author constructs the edifice of his thought, but the things which are the necessary outcome of that which is most characteristic of his thought as a whole, whether he himself conceive that clearly or not.

Now when we take the whole of Maeterlinck's teaching we are impressed with the idea that man is the master of his fate, he is individual, he is free. One who maintains individuality so strongly and who regards the love of our fellowmen as our chief duty, to God is not far from the highest form of religion. Though his teaching is indefinite, it is hopeful. In *The Double Garden* he represents Humanity as waiting in hope. "We are in that majestic attitude in which Michael Angelo, on the immense ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, has shown us the prophets and just men of the Old Testament. We are living in expectation and perhaps in the last moments of expectation. In that attitude of waiting there are degrees, which pass from the vague resignation which does not yet venture to hope, to the thrill caused by the sense that the thing for which we wait is moving close at hand. It seems that we have heard these movements. Were they the sound of supernatural footsteps, the opening of a vast door, a breath of air that blows upon us a coming light? We do not know. But when waiting has reached this point of intensity, it is a moment of ardent and wonderful life, the best period of happiness, its youth, its childhood."

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Poona.

WHAT GERMANY HAS LOST BY THE WAR.

BY PROFESSOR J. C. COYAJEE.

WHOM the gods wish to destroy they first deprive of reason. The history of the world offers no better illustration of this, than the action of Germany in bringing on the present war. In no war did a nation ever stand to lose so much and, comparatively speaking, to gain so little. Even supposing Germany could have succeeded in the present war and could have ruled over all the countries between the Loire and the Dnieper, her acquisitions would have been no unmixed gain. Indeed, it may be questioned whether the gain of such a conquest could have balanced the loss. The result of such a success would have been to change Germany, with its vastly added Slav and Celtic population, into a magnified edition of Austria-Hungary. The whole history of Austria has shown that the possession of enormous numbers of alien subjects is no source of strength but of weakness. Moreover, Germany has shown less ability, even than Austria, for assimilating alien populations. Applying to Germany a trenchant saying of Dr. Johnson, we can say that she has an enormous appetite, and no digestion. Poland, Alsace and the Danish provinces of Schleswig have not been assimilated, though they are surrounded by vastly preponderating German populations, and though the state is spending millions to "colonize" the Polish districts with German settlers. This "inner colonization" policy of Bismarck has been a great failure, and one of the German Government's latest reports admits this, saying "Polonism during the last twenty years has gained both economically and in inner power."

If then Germany has failed to absorb the German Poles and the men of Alsace and Schleswig, how could she have hoped to turn to good account the vast French and Russian territories which she hoped to gain if she had been successful in the present war? Bismarck was wise when he refused to annex Bohemia and formed his idea of Germany as a "satiated state." He believed that by 1870 Germany had reached the farthest limits of her territorial expansion, and that only the task of consolidation and of development remained before her. But the "furor Teutonicus" has overridden such prudent considerations. The truth has been forgotten by Germany, that an exaggerated nationalism must destroy itself whether it fails or succeeds in its aggressive career. If it is defeated, it, of course, perishes by the sword. If it succeeds, it mixes up itself with such heterogeneous subject populations that it loses its national characteristics, vigour and unity.

But the fortune of war is declaring itself against Germany. Her friends are disappointing her expectations and her enemies are multiplying. In history there is hardly another instance of a great nation so closely *besieged* by its enemies. France after Waterloo was in a similar position, but only for a few days. The resources obtained from the little neutral neighbours are small and unreliable, for they may at any time be entirely cut off by the powers of the British navy or British diplomacy. As Dr. Shadwell says: "If the whole neutral shipping afloat were devoted to the service of Germany, it could not replace her own lost fleet; and of course it is not." Even "invisible" imports in the shape of loans are denied to Germany. Under such circumstances ultimate exhaustion and defeat are certain. Consequently it is our business to consider (1) how the present war will upset some great political projects which Germany has been long maturing; (2) how the war will cut across the various lines of Germany's economic progress; (3) what losses it will inflict on Germany.

(1) The spirit of violent and greedy aggression which Germany¹ has shown in driving Europe into war and in riding roughshod over the rights of her neutral neighbours, will render forever impossible her cherished project of a Central European League. The greatest thinkers and publicists of Germany have been partial to this idea, for as Schmoller puts it "the two paths of political conquest and of customs-union lead to the same results." Prussia began her task of building up a German Empire, by forming the German customs-union the "Zollverein." The followers of Pan-Germanism entertain the idea of a still larger customs-union, of which all Teutonic nations of the Continent should be members, and which should form the greatest of the world powers. It was always felt that Germany was not territorially strong enough, to be on terms of equality with the United States and Russia, even perhaps with England. Among these three great rivals, it seems strange to say now, the most thoughtful Germans have always reserved their preference for England. Thus Schmoller writes: "Although Albion has so often injured us and although her sons have so little thought for our prosperity, yet her decline would increase our fears from the other two world-powers. Our prosperity is safer if the three great empires balance each other, than if that one which is nearest allied to us in race, culture and religion and which possesses the best social polity and constitution should be overthrown."* It was by the formation of the Central European League that Germany was to rise to an equality with Russia, England and the United States. The same author thus depicts the motives which the other countries have to join the German league. "It is only Germany which prevents the Russians from attacking Austria. Belgium would have become French had not Germany saved it from Napoleon III. But for Germany the Dutch Colonies would have shared the fate of the Spanish Colonies, and would have been annexed

* Schmoller II, 640-641.

by one of the great states. Even the Scandinavian states have their best defender in Germany."*

It was not only the German publicists who expected this Germanization of Central Europe. Such a high English authority on Political Geography as Sir Harry Johnston has expressed his conviction that the Netherlands were soon to be incorporated with Germany, if not formally, at least virtually. He goes even further: "A Turkish Sultanate might continue to exist in Asia Minor, just as there will probably for centuries a King or Queen of the Netherlands, of Austria-Hungary and Bohemia . . . but the German influence would become supreme." Dr. Dillon has also observed in the same strain, that "Belgium is becoming quite perceptibly an integral part of the German Empire, and will end by sinking to a position like that of Bavaria and Saxony." The truth which lies at the basis of all these prophecies is that the geographical position of Germany is exceedingly strong, and would enable it through a system of duties to put great pressure on its smaller neighbours, both towards the East and on the Western side. Such a pressure could force these states first into a customs-union, and ultimately into a political union. As the late Count Witte said "the peace of to-day is Economic war;" and had Germany kept to the paths of peace, she could in time have established a hegemony on the Continent. But the attack on Belgium and its ruthless devastation have made this prospect forever impossible and have brought to naught the project of the Germanization of the Continent.

If in Europe the war has destroyed the great chance of German expansion, in Asia it has upset a scheme of German predominance, which had been brought much nearer to fruition, and which had already received international recognition and sanction in the shape of various conventions. Germany was advancing into Asia, in the footsteps of Alexander the Great, and it was about to

* Schmoller's *Volks wirtschafts lehre* II, 637.

Germanize the choicest Asiatic districts by the same means that Alexander had employed to Germanize them, *viz.*, colonization. Asia Minor has always had attractions for German settlers. "In near Asia, German colonization is by no means of recent origin. There are in Trans-Caucasia agricultural settlements established by Warttemberg farmers, whose descendants, in the third generation, live in their own villages and still speak their native language. In Palestine there are the German Templar colonies on the coast, which have prospered so well as to excite the resentment of the natives."* It was Moltke whose genius started the idea of furthering such colonization by a railway through Turkey and the present Kaiser has directed his whole policy to the object of securing the friendship of Turkey and of thus gaining complete control of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. The enterprise has been carried through in spite of the Cyprus Convention which gave a sort of protectorate over Asia Minor to England. Thanks to the "kilometric guarantee," it has not cost a sixpence to Germany. Skilful diplomacy was used to avoid the objections of other powers. The railway was first proclaimed an International enterprise, but so many obstacles were placed in the way of participation by others, that by 1903 England, France and Russia had withdrawn from the field. These powers were encouraged to obtain "compensations" in other parts of Turkey for this would herald a dismemberment of Turkey in which Germany was sure to have a lion's share.† The Potsdam agreement of 1911 clothed the aggression of Germany in Turkey with international recognition. Further, in 1914 a fresh agreement was arrived at "which in effect will subject all railway matters in the North of Asia Minor to the influence of France and Russia, those in Syria to that of France, and those in Bagdad sphere to that of Germany."

* Dawson: *Evolution of Modern Germany*, p. 344.

† A. Geraud: "*A New German Empire*."

At the start Germany had been careful not to put forward the idea of colonization, and by the Convention of 1903 had even been agreed "not to bring or plant foreign colonies in the neighbourhood of the line." How little Germany meant to abide by the promise was shown by its sending, in the very same year, the Steinrich Mission to the United States to study on the spot the methods of railway organization. By 1911 Germany's hands had been strengthened by the Potsdam Agreement, and Von der Goltz hastened to announce that German colonization of Asia Minor was even desired by the Sultan. Colonization was about to be taken in hand, and as Reinsch said* "should Germany succeed in fostering considerable industrial and agricultural colonies in Asia Minor, her inheritance of the political power of Turkey in these regions would be only a question of time." Fortunately the impatience of the Kaiser would not allow his best schemes the time necessary for their fruition, and he has started a war fatal at once to Turkey and to German dominance in Asia Minor.

(2) Say what it will Germany can never forgive the Kaiser and his advisers for beginning a war which must end a period of unprecedented economic prosperity for the country. Germany's greatest period of industrial and commercial greatness—its boasted "Aufschwungszeit"—has found its terminus in this war. Centuries of patient work and preparation preceded and caused this great wave of economic triumphs. In the Middle Ages things had looked well for Germany, thanks to the efforts of the Hanseatic League, the Rhenish League and other similar groupings and alliances. But in the sixteenth century Germany began to decline with the fall of the Hansa, the ravages of war, and the discovery of new trade routes. The Thirty Years' War completed her ruin, destroyed two-thirds of her population, and utterly dislocated her industry and commerce. It took Germany

* Reinsch : " *World-Politics*," p. 279.

two whole centuries to recuperate her strength. But following on the wars of 1866 and 1870, Germany has seen half a century of undreamed-of prosperity. We shall glance at some of the leading achievements of what Germany will in future look back to as her Golden Age.

Let us first observe the enormous rate at which Germany's income and wealth have grown. Dr. Helfferich calculates that between 1896 and 1912 the aggregate national income of his country has increased from £1,075 millions to £2,000 millions, *i.e.*, it has all but doubled in the last eighteen years. These figures have been accepted as authoritative by an English statistician Mr. Crammond in an able paper read before the Royal Statistical Society last July. Dr. Riesser in his great work* on the German banks also calculates that in the period 1875 to 1907 the income of Prussia increased by 56 per cent.

As to the national *wealth* we must base ourselves on the calculations of Schmoller and Helfferich. Their result is that in 1895 the national wealth of Germany was 10,000 million sterling. In 1914 it had advanced by 50 per cent., *i.e.*, it increased at the rate of 272 million sterling per annum. As Mr. Crammond concludes, "the ratio of increase of German wealth is now approaching that of the United Kingdom," though the British national wealth still exceeds that of Germany by 1,500 million sterling.† There are other independent calculations corroborating these. In 1895 Mulhall estimated the national wealth of Germany at 150 billion marks. In 1908 Steinmann-Bucher calculated it to be 314 billions and Ballod took it to be 251 to 266 billions.

We have to glance next at the progress of Germany's foreign trade. Mr. Crammond observes, in the paper referred to, that "during the period (1888 to 1912) the foreign trade of Germany has grown at about twice as large a ratio as that of the United Kingdom. In

* Dr. Riesser : *The Great German Banks*, p. 93.

† *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. LXXVII, p. 802.

the case of Germany the annual average increase was 8·5 per cent.” Of course we must not be misled by the fallacy of percentages and yet we can appreciate the greatness of the progress involved. The same writer goes on to say : “ From a close examination of the course of the foreign trade of the two countries during the past quarter of a century, I am of opinion that between the years 1920 and 1923 the value of the special trade of Germany will exceed that of the special trade of the United Kingdom.”

The sentence reads like a bitter condemnation of the policy which denied to such a progressive country the blessings of peace. Dr. Riesser thus sums up the comparative growth of Germany's trade : “ During the period (1870-1909) the special trade of England increased 38 per cent., that of the United States 59 per cent., that of France 28 per cent., and that of Russia 23 per cent. Within the last twenty-five years German trade has exactly doubled.” Treating of the growth of German trade with Asia, Dr. Webster says : “ But her greatest gain in the Far East has been in Australia, the trade increasing from about \$4,000,000 in 1885 to nearly \$33,000,000 in 1899.” *

Peace had for Germany triumphs in other directions too, which may be briefly referred to. The development of the mercantile marine has almost justified the Kaiser's boast that “ Germany's future is on the seas.” In 1871 the merchant fleet was represented by 147 ocean steamships with a net tonnage of 82,000. In 1912 the number of steamships amounted to 4,733 and the net tonnage to 3,023,725 and “ the two largest merchant fleets in the world are sailed under the German flag,” being owned by the Hamburg-America Company and the North-German Lloyd.† In shipbuilding, Germany takes rank only next after England. Her enterprise in railway matters is shown by the increase of the tonnage carried by 62 per cent. between 1901 and

* Webster : *History of Commerce*, p. 468.

† Joseph : *Evolution of German Banking*, p. 25.

1912. Among steel-producing countries Germany before the war occupied the second place, and as a coal-producing country, it holds the third place. The banking development of Germany too has been wonderful. It is to be noted further that her manufacturing progress has not shaken her agricultural strength ; and in view of the impending exhaustion of Germany, it is worth noting that "she holds the third place in the production of wheat and rye, while Russia has a long lead. In barley, Germany holds the third place, and in potatoes she is far ahead of other countries." She is also by far the largest producer of beet sugar.

To what heights the economic development of Germany had proceeded before the war is shown by the fact that she bore unflinchingly and simultaneously the burdens of her land armaments and of her naval programme. No other country has exposed herself to such a double ordeal. Yet Mr. Crammond notes : "On the whole having regard to the improvement that has taken place in the standard of living in Germany within the past sixteen years, I am of opinion that her expenditure upon armaments constitutes a much less heavy burden upon her people than it did in 1895. I am further of opinion that provided Germany's economic expansion continues at the ratio maintained during the past decade (*and apart from war I see no reason why it should not do so*) fifteen years hence Germany should be in a position to expend upon armaments at least £100,000,000 per annum, and this without placing upon her people a relatively heavier burden than they are called upon to bear to-day." No further comment is necessary in the criminal folly of the policy which interrupted such magnificent progress by starting a war. Germany occupied indeed a great position,

"Till pride and worse ambition threw her down."

And now we may pause for a moment to consider how an unsuccessful war would bring down this fair economic structure. Though great credit is due to the Germans for all this development, yet good observers have

always noted that it has many vulnerable points. There are artificial elements in this progress. To some extent this industrial development is a hot-house product due to protection. Further, the State as the owner of railways has specially encouraged foreign trade and manufactures by special rates.* As the Prussian Minister of Public Works said: "Like Bismarck I regard the railways as primarily a transport institution and not as a milch cow, and I shall never administer my department in a purely fiscal spirit." Moreover exports are encouraged by a system of drawbacks and also by subsidies given by the Kartels; these latter "have devised a plan whereby export is assisted and encouraged by the grant of bonuses by the several syndicates to their members and customers. This plan appears to have been first introduced in 1891, and it would seem to have been more systematically established in 1897."† But a great disaster like the present war which will weaken the German Empire and impair its financial and banking system will also destroy these crutches of the German industrial system. Men will be lost that cannot be replaced. Moreover America and England stand ready to cut out a weakened Germany from its markets. The former has already begun operations to enter the German markets and to make New York a dominating money centre by opening banks in different parts of the world. Experts have declared that it will take Germany anything between twenty-five and fifty years to make good its economic losses; and in these fateful years her rivals will have made such progress that Germany will be left lagging behind, perhaps for centuries.

(3) Some attempt may be made now to estimate or to enumerate the direct losses caused to Germany by the war. There are numerous items of this loss. The first item is the financial cost of the operations of the war. On

* E. T. Good in the *Financial Review of Reviews*. Webster's *History of Commerce*, p. 458. Dawson's *Industrial Germany*, p. 57.

† Ashley's *Tariff Problem*, pp. 120-1.

this point the experts seem to be fairly agreed. Yves Guyot calculates that in the first six months of the war, its direct cost to Germany amounted to 395 millions sterling. The *Economist* estimates the cost at £425 millions for the same six months. A Swiss computation puts two millions per day as the cost to Germany on the basis of each of its soldiers costing it 10s. per day. An article in the *Round Table* puts the cost at nearly two millions per diem. All these computations agree in the main, and so we may put the daily cost at two millions, in spite of German assertions to the contrary. But the reader should note well that the cost of such a war cannot be taken to be a fixed amount. It is bound to increase for both sides, as more troops are drilled and brought to the front. Not only more men enter the fighting line, but the prices of military equipments and material must rise as larger demands for them come upon a market which is already fairly depleted.

The second and the third items of the loss consist of "Lost production" and the "Value of lost lives." For Germany, Yves Guyot computes the former at £830 millions and the latter at £294 millions in the first six months of the war. It is admitted that both figures may be under the mark. The former figure does not allow for the widespread destruction and depreciation of fixed capital. It may also be urged that the estimate of "lost production" does not include the serious loss caused by the dislocation of production and the dislocation of markets. Suppose a man has a factory yielding a profit of a thousand rupees a month, and it has to be closed for six months owing to war. The loss to the owner is not at all adequately represented by six thousand rupees. It will cost a good deal more to start the factory again after the war, to procure new workmen and to attract again the old *clientele*. The calculation as to the value of lost lives too is, if anything, under the mark. Yves Guyot (following the estimate of M. Barriol) takes

the money value of each German soldier killed at £676. This agrees fairly well with the view of Dr. Marshall, who asserts that "the *average* value of an individual is perhaps £200." * This being the average value, the money value of a strong man in the prime of life may well be nearly £700. But even so, an important factor in the valuation is in danger of being neglected. Estimates of the money value of human life, formed in times of peace are inapplicable after such a murderous war, because through the reduction in the supply of men the value of each individual rises.

Other important factors of Germany's loss have to be added. German foreign trade (imports and exports together) must have fallen by, say, 60 per cent.; and as Sir E. Holden has reminded us the exports have been reduced to a much greater extent than the imports. With the blockade of Germany proclaimed by England since 1st March, the import trade too will be further reduced. As the annual total of Germany's foreign trade is £1,000 millions, this of itself is a great blow to the country. Further, one-fourth of Germany's mercantile marine has been captured and the rest has been rendered idle, except a few steamers still running in the Baltic. Thus of the earnings of German shipping and transport which were estimated at £30 millions annually, far the greater part has been lost. The "earnings of German banking, insurance and mercantile houses engaged in foreign trade" amounted to another ten millions and these too have disappeared, for the time being. We have also to take account of the vast depreciation of German securities of all kinds, and of the reduction of the German National Dividend, through the mobilization of the strongest and greatest part of her male population. Some have estimated that, of the capable men, as many as 50 to 75 per cent. have been mobilized. Finally when Germany itself will be invaded, the streams of production and exchange will be still further dried up.

Not only the foreign trade, but the far more valuable domestic trade will be cut down to a minimum, and the depreciation of securities and of values in general will be enormous. As these lines are being written an announcement is made by a leading English statesman that the conclusion of the war involves the occupation of Germany by the conquering troops for about six months. This reminds us that half a century ago a similar occupation cost France upwards of thirteen millions, and the present occupation will have to be in far greater force.

Already within seven months the war has tripled the national debt of Germany. It has been calculated that the German debt, which amounted to £240 millions before the war, has reached £760 millions. Thus the mere addition to the German debt in these months equals the total cost of its war to France, as estimated by Sir R. Giffen. So far Germany has not been able to borrow abroad, nor even to get in the interest on her foreign investments. This is a point of contrast with the war of 1870, in which France defrayed almost her whole expenditure by foreign loans. But as soon as the war closes Germany must borrow very largely, to renew her destroyed fixed capital, to pay her indemnity and to set her industries, finances and banking into something like order. This borrowing must be at exorbitant rates, for there is bound to be a scramble for loans, and no great supply could be offered. With six out of the seven financial centres of the world involved in war, no other result is possible.

Through her policy of lavish issues of paper, Germany is nearing the dangers of inflation. All her future loans during this war must be raised at home; and every loan—the people having given up much of their gold already—requires more paper money to subscribe it with. Moreover the Gold Reserve of the Reichsbank is itself in an insecure position. The depreciation of German currency can only be checked by sending gold abroad; but this must in time deplete the Gold Reserve. If, on the other

hand, gold is not sent abroad, German merchants are hard hit by the adverse exchange. Such is the dilemma with which Germany is faced, and a much longer duration of war can only bring a national bankruptcy.

The end of the war will most probably bring on Germany territorial losses and will inflict on her a huge indemnity. It is difficult to make a money-estimate of the former, though Giffen calculated that the money-value of Alsace-Lorraine to France in 1870 was £64,000,000. But who can calculate for Germany the loss of provinces like Rhineland, Westphalia and Upper Silesia, which yield 90 per cent. of her coal output and of which the loss would ruin her industrially? As to the indemnity, it would be equally futile to try to compute its amount. In 1870 France with a national income of £600,000,000 was called on to pay an indemnity of £212,000,000. Germany's national income at present is thrice that of France in those days. Moreover the vastly superior productive processes and forces of these days make nations far more able to pay large sums than formerly. Atrocities in Belgium, too, will be remembered by the Allies. Nor will Mr. Norman Angell's arguments as to the "futility of indemnities" prevent the Allies from exacting the uttermost farthing. Mr. Angell argues from the particular propositions that in some cases indemnities may do harm to the conqueror exacting, to the general proposition that they are always injurious. But as Schmoller says, there are unskilful as well as skilful ways of bringing home an indemnity. If brought in in the shape of gold or bills, as in 1870, there is a probability of mischief through rise of prices and an encouragement of speculation. But there is, it is submitted, a better way. Germany has invested a thousand millions in foreign lands and is so far a creditor of other countries. These rights it can be forced to transfer to the victors. The Allies can then reap where Germany has sown. They may part with the securities, gradually, as it suits them; or may retain them, and obtain the dividends.

As Mr. O'Farrell has observed, there is nothing necessarily fatal or harmful in indemnities—they are not like the shirt of Nessus.

Not the least of the evils of such an unsuccessful war for Germany will be the spirit of demoralization and disappointment which will be its aftermath. The Germans have persuaded themselves that military and political successes are the only basis of prosperity. Thus Schmoller says : “ We ask, at what periods has the most brilliant economic progress appeared ? In the case of the Greeks, after the Persian wars ; in Rome, from the subjection of middle Italy to the end of the Punic wars ; in France after the extension of power under Louis XIV. and Napoleon ? ” To a nation which holds such doctrines as cardinal truths, an unsuccessful war will bring a demoralization which will last long and will be a drag on all future progress. The despondency will have “ cumulative effects ” in the shape of economic and political stagnation.

In conclusion it may be said that Germany could not have launched into war, at a more inopportune time for itself. If it could have kept its soul in patience for another quarter of a century it could have waged war with enormously increased resources. Politically it would have been in a far more dominant position in Europe and in Asia. Economically its resources would have been greatly multiplied. But the ambition and impatience of the Kaiser has brought on the war at a time when it must interrupt and cut across all the great but half-matured German projects, all lines of German progress, whether political or economical. The Fortune of England has asserted itself once more ; and if the present generation was not so unbelieving, one would propose that a temple should be erected to the unfailing “ Fortune ” (“ Iqbal ”) of the British race, or to the “ Jupiter, Terminus ” who ever keeps the British frontiers advancing.

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"THE CITY OF THE POINTING SPIRE."

BY WILMOT CORFIELD.

THE first sure and certain sign of a near approach to Calcutta meeting the eye of the seaborne traveller from England is, as likely as not, the well-proportioned spire of St. Paul's Cathedral rising from encircling greenery, an uplifted and uplifting reminder of the call of the Old Country to the voyager across strange waters on the quest of the new and of the old which is the portion of the wanderer. I well remember it was so with me upon a far off August afternoon in the middle eighties. Sharp and crisp above the tree-tops showed "the pointing spire." It spelt England and all that England had been to one about to leave a floating piece of floating England, picked up by a busy river's brink at the end of a short railway journey from Fenchurch Street. Gliding gently along, there, later, we could see at the end of a fine avenue the fane which Wilson, priest and statesman, built and in which he sleeps. There was no slowly rising Victoria Hall then. The church looked riverwards along an uninterrupted vista of glowing turf and trees, and deck and porch seemed but a biscuit-toss apart. I have always held in memory that earliest glimpse I got of St. Paul's and its gracious setting at the southern end of the green maidan. Were there no Bishop and no bishopric; no canon, priest, or deacon; no archdeaconry, synodical system or "collection-now-to-be-made;" no lecterns, font, or other ecclesiastical embellishment, that spire should still remain—a tapering sermon in stone and wood and iron to all the land—the highest thing, because the thing with the loftiest mission to put through amid all the many-sided activities of the "Premier City."

In 1897 I saw the spire fall while the town was rocking. Re-erected it stands as before the shining symbol of a faith welding all the peoples of the world into a brotherhood of religious men of many phases of belief all making in the main for rightness.

Criticism of St. Paul's Cathedral is not infrequently severe. I never could see why. It fulfils to my mind very reasonably all the good intentions of its wise designers: well placed, architecturally commanding, it is not unworthy of its noble company of Gothic predecessors and contemporaries of the West; and, letting those who mutter in the art-jargon of their kind mutter as they may, we can well afford to disregard hostile comment upon some details of its always pleasing structure.

Thomas Fanshawe Middleton never saw St. Paul's. He worked and sleeps in St. John's, where also, but in the outer compound, lie John Thomas James and John Matthias Turner, Reginald Heber's two successors in the chair of the see. The four earliest Bishops of Calcutta all died at their posts within nine years. This is one of the inspiring facts that the "pointing spire" tells 'o town and tide.

It was my good fortune to be present at the recent meeting at Westminster on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of Middleton's appointment to Calcutta in 1814. Among other livings he had held that of old St. Pancras (the references to it, or its predecessors, go back to 1133—"though how long it had then been standing no man knoweth.") Old St. Pancras is now lost somewhere in the background surroundings of King's Cross Station; New St. Prancras is the large classical pile in the Euston Road the erection of which in 1822 greatly strengthened the re-action then setting in in favour of Gothic. A hundred years have wrought wonderfully. In 1814 Louis XVIII. was King in Paris and the Corsican in retirement at Elba. The war with Nepal broke out in 1814. In 1914 on leaving Dean's Yard at the close of the Middleton Meeting I found the news-placards

telling of the "King at the Front," and the first beams of the December evening flashing from the searchlight platforms on either side the waterway of the darkened Thames, striking as they circled low the shaft of Cleopatra's Needle into a gleaming thing of exceeding whiteness.

Middleton lies beneath a St. John's chancel slab. In that same St. John's there was baptized in 1834 one Frederick Sleigh, son of Abraham and Isabella Roberts, and that same Frederick Sleigh I had seen but a few days previously to the Westminster meeting borne to rest in Paul's the Greater by a line of warriors long drawn out, coming from the four corners of the Empire to the old Field Marshal's ending. I watched from the Cathedral entrance, the laden Indian mules carrying gun sections of the Indian funeral contingent pass along to the left of Queen Anne's effigy to the wail of the Scotch pipers to the east of the mighty walls enshrining the great white marble monuments of Middleton and Heber;—Middleton, massive with uplifted hand; Chaukey's Heber, the same kneeling Heber of Calcutta, repeated within the more imposing precincts of London's most imposing pile. The essential unity of London and Calcutta, the elemental solidity of the whole Empire itself, was never more obviously made manifest than during the passing of the Roberts cortège to St. Paul's. To it either in person or thought, came Gurkhas, Sikhs, Pathans, Dogras, Mahrattas, Rajputs, Punjabis and Mussalmans. They had come in wave-breasting flotillas across the speeding seas to the port of the Chateau d'If, and swung streaming up the hill at Marseilles, to the call of Scotch-pipes played by Gurkha bandsmen, on high emprise for the saving of all we have and are. Rheims had fallen, Westminster was threatened, and not only Westminster but Agra, and so the chivalry of all Europe and the Orient rose as one man; the East now knows the English West as worthy of all the high protestations of brotherhood made in the name of the Most High. The lesson of the "pointing spire" has been

well learned and the sword-arm of the East militant uplifted on the side of Right.

“God is one,” saith the Sikh. “His name is true, creator without fear, without enmity. Timeless, formless, great, merciful.” “He is of the Khalsa who extends the faith.” “There is but one God” is called from the minaret to the twilight as the shadows fall at eventide.

All the signs of the times are with the “pointing spire,” with him who bows before the Timeless One, and who hears the call of the minaret to heed it; with him who extends the faith; with him of clean hands and a pure heart who hath not given up his soul unto vanity nor sworn deceitfully.

WILMOT CORFIELD.

London.

THE PEOPLE WHO WILL PAY.

BY A. J. FRASER BLAIR.

THE ruthlessness which the Germans have displayed in various directions during the present struggle has stirred the slow-moving British public to a demand for vengeance of the direst kind, and fears have been expressed lest, when the authors of the war are called to account, the penalty exacted from Germany will be milder than her victims have a right to expect. Such fears are groundless. If Germany loses this war—and a prominent American newspaper has frankly declared that the world cannot afford to permit her to win it—she will be called upon to pay forfeit up to the last farthing of her moral and material resources. She stands to be starved out, invaded, dismembered, mulcted in tremendous sums, humbled to the dust in the collapse of her world-wide ambitions. She will emerge from the struggle having lost several millions of her most useful citizens, with her trade gone, her capital swallowed up, her credit nonexistent, her widows and children crying out for bread, her erstwhile leaders in foreign prisons or in hiding. She will have to begin life over again under conditions at least as desperate as those which followed on the 'Thirty Years' War. Germany is going to pay for this war in the long run ; that is certain.

The pity of it is that all this misery will fall upon people the majority of whom are quite innocent of the fell designs of the military party in Berlin. The German nation, like most other nations, consists of women and children in the proportion of nearly two to one. It is hardly necessary to point out that these have had no part in the murderous drama that is now being enacted. Women have less political influence in Germany than in

almost any other country in Europe. If they had had more, the military party would have had less. Nevertheless the women and children of Germany, who were never consulted as to the war, are going to be called upon to suffer even more cruelly from its effects than the men who are prosecuting it.

But what of the men who are now, on the battlefields of Belgium and Poland, being led like sheep to such a slaughter that even their adversaries sicken at the sight of it—have they had any say in the matter? None at all. They have been bred up in slavish obedience to an arrogant military despotism, which has usurped the functions of a legitimate Government, and has shamelessly exploited their docility and their credulity. It is true that they have been taught to hate and despise England. It is true that they have gone forward willingly to battle against us, in the belief that we were endeavouring to compass the ruin of Germany. It is also true that some of them have been guilty of atrocities without parallel since the times of Tilly and the Duke of Alva. But who put them up to it? The barbarous proclamations scattered over Belgium by various German commanders, both high and low, indicate that the worst outrages of the soldiery have been inspired by the same men whose blind and arrogant ambition is mainly answerable for the war.

While the area of suffering for all this wrongdoing will apparently coincide with the whole German nation, a study of contemporary records indicates with some emphasis that the real responsibility is confined to two classes :—

(1) The so-called intellectual leaders, whose every utterance since the war began proves them to be morally, if not also intellectually, incapable of exercising such leadership.

(2) The military or aristocratic caste, which despises all non-warlike activities, and believes itself the divinely appointed instrument for placing the heel of Germany

upon the neck of creation. The latter class will include the Crown Prince, the Junkers, or territorial aristocracy of Prussia, and the thousands of officers who lead, or drive, the German armies. It may also include the officers of the German Navy, who were reported, before the war began, to drink a regular toast to "The Day," when they would measure the strength of the German Fleet against that flying the "meteor flag." It is generally believed that the Kaiser has, during the past year or two, fallen completely under the influence of these military reactionaries, and he and his son must, therefore, for the purpose of the present discussion, be included in the second class.

Is it the case, then, that when we have brought home their bloodguiltiness to the German militarists and intellectuals we have completed our investigation into the question of who is ultimately responsible for the war? Before we can venture to say so much, it might be well to consider how, and in what circumstances these two classes became so completely demoralized. It is hardly probable that a German intellectual, or even a Junker, comes into the world determined from infancy to "stagger humanity." A German intellectual or militarist baby is, as likely as not, indistinguishable from other babies. We must look to the manner in which these children were trained up into manhood; in other words, to the education which they have received.

Now it is notorious that German thought has, for many years, been highly materialistic in its tendency. This tendency may be said to have reached its climax in Haeckel, one of the foremost of Germany's recent apologists, but it runs through a considerable part of German literature from the days of Schopenhauer.

In the light of events the accusing finger of civilization has unanimously pointed to the philosopher Nietzsche as the intellectual guide who has led Germany most completely astray. Upon the foundation of Nietzsche's

diabolical teaching as to the "superman," Treitschke imposed the superstructure of an equally diabolical teaching as to the "super-state." Between them these two thinkers have evolved a national philosophy, or *kultur*, as it is otherwise described, which has perverted the German mind to an extent which would have been incredible but for the revelations of the war.

Turning from literature to history we find in Bismarck and the first Moltke the material embodiments of Nietzsche's ideas, the successful diplomatist and soldier—successful at any cost—without fear, scruple, or pity. The outstanding ability of these two men, which, in the strategical and political sphere almost amounted to genius, combined with the weakness of the men and peoples who confronted them led Prussia, by the devious paths of the seizure of Schleswig-Holstein and the successful attack on Austria, to the crowning triumph of 1870, when France was goaded into picking a quarrel, and was instantly overwhelmed. An indemnity of 200 millions sterling was wrung from her, and with this money Germany laid the foundation of the commercial expansion which has made her one of the greatest trading and industrial nations in the world.

Here we see the apparent triumph of the Nietzschean ideal. Bismarck, backed by Moltke, trampled upon honour and humanity. He crushed France and created the modern German Empire, which he launched on a sea of French gold. In a material sense Germany has never looked back since. To all outward appearances she has gone on steadily prospering. Is it the case, then, that the way of the transgressor is not always hard?

The result of 1870 was to make Germany drunk with victory, and in no class was this terrible condition more rampant than among the *literati*. Treitschke especially—the famous Professor of History in Berlin—fell under the sway of the Prussian spirit, and devoted his great talents to proving that the main purpose of a mighty race was to conquer. He and other writers chanted the praises of

war in comparison with peace, and of the German nation against the world, until they had generated a public opinion which looked on war as a glorious thing in itself, and on Germany as the "salt of the earth." This teaching harmonized admirably with the cult of hero-worship which established the Kaiser on the pedestal from which Bismarck had been ignominiously cast down. The worship of the Emperor Wilhelm II., which has been fostered throughout Germany during the last quarter of a century, is the strangest spectacle which Europe has beheld since divine honours were paid to the Roman Cæsars by a subservient world. The so-called intellectuals appear to have been hypnotized by his personality almost as completely as Goethe was hypnotized by Napoleon a century ago; and as the influence of the intellectuals upon the nation has been out of all proportion to their real capacity as leaders of men, they are unquestionably responsible, in no small degree, for the Kaiser-mania to which the Kaiser himself, with many millions of his subjects, has given way.

The direct responsibility for the war, then, rests apparently upon the militarists of Prussia including the Kaiser and his eldest son. The indirect responsibility falls to be distributed among a handful of philosophers, teachers and statesmen, including Nietzsche, Bismarck and Treitschke. Many, if not most, of these teachers and philosophers are dead, and are, therefore, beyond the reach of human vengeance. The people upon whom retribution is about to descend are in the position of accessories after the fact. Their guilt consists in having accepted a pinchbeck philosophy as inspired, a brutal oligarchy for their rulers and leaders, and a second-rate actor as their hero and representative. The presumption is, of course, that a nation deserves the government which it gets, and the incredible stupidity and immorality of German policy as directed from Berlin must inevitably cast a deep shadow upon the whole German people. But it should be remembered that the Germans as a nation have been kept

carefully in the dark both as to the cause and the course of the war. It remains to be seen whether they will continue to identify themselves with their rulers when they realize the full measure of their ineptitude and criminality.

In the meantime the fact that the people who are about to foot the longest bill of costs in history are only responsible in a remote degree for the ruin and misery of the war may possibly help us to cultivate a kindlier feeling towards them when the struggle is over. It is more than possible that they may fail to reciprocate such feelings ; but the English way is to shake hands after a fight to a finish, and it is certain that the plight of Germany for many years hereafter will be such as to appeal to the pity, if not the sympathy, of the entire human race.

A. J. FRASER BLAIR.

Calcutta.

SCHOOL MEDICAL INSPECTION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY DOROTHY W. STEVENSON, M.B., Ch.B.

FOR some time an idea was spread abroad that the physical condition of the people of Great Britain was deteriorating, so in the year 1902 the King appointed a Commission of nine to enquire into the matter as regards the children in the elementary schools in Scotland. On this Commission there sat such men as Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the Secretary of the Scottish Education Department, the President of the Boys' Brigade, the Chairman of a provincial School Board and a Scotch Professor of Surgery. So you see that the Commission was not predominantly medical. The most important result arrived at was the need for the medical examination of school children. About the same time similar investigations were being made in England, with the same conclusions. Not only was it found that many children were unfit to receive benefit from the physical and mental training in school, but that some were being actually harmed by it. Children with defective eyesight were made worse by sewing and reading, children with St. Vitus' Dance made worse by mental strain, children with heart disease made worse by drill and play.

The investigations carried out and the conclusions come to resulted in the passing of the Elementary (Administrative Provisions) Education Act in 1907.

One might think that the parents themselves would take care of their own children and not send them to school if they are not fit, and I believe that in the majority of cases they do, *in so far as they know*, and it is largely want of knowledge that we have to combat. Many of the diseases from which the children suffer are, of course,

recognisable only by a doctor, but in regard to the minor ailments which become so serious if neglected we have to educate the parents, and the children of this generation, so that the next generation may be brought up more wisely.

This Education Act of 1907 demands that each Education Authority "shall make suitable provision for the medical examination of its school children." In many cases the School Doctor is under the Medical Officer of Health of the town or county, in some cases the two are independent legally, but in every case it is very desirable that there be co-ordination between the two. You will see the necessity for that in connection with the general condition of the school buildings, the prevention or check of epidemic diseases, etc.

To follow out the recommendations of the Board, the children should be examined four times during their school years : (1) on entrance, (2) at seven years of age, (3) at 10, and (4) just before leaving—at 13 in England, 14 in Scotland.

Let me tell you from my own experience of the working out of this Act. I have read of "that dullest possible of all forms of medical work, School Medical Inspection," but I assure you that definition is wrong. Surely the prevention of disease may be interesting, and to see improvement in the mental and physical condition of a child by a little advice to an ignorant but anxious mother may well encourage one to go on with the work.

Let me tell you in detail how we proceed. Several days before the examination a note is sent to the Head Teacher asking him or her to arrange for the examination of such and such children, to let the mothers know of the medical inspection, inviting them to come. A printed notice is sent to this effect—"Dear Madam, the School Doctor is going to examine your child on—at—o'clock and will be glad if you can be present." The polite note with the suggestion of R. S. V. P. about it has a better result in bringing a parent than a merely formal intimation.

There are advantages and disadvantages in thus informing the parents of the examination. Among the latter one finds that occasionally the child is kept away from school on purpose to escape the critical eye of the doctor, and that a usually disgracefully dirty child has a special wash and brush-up for the occasion, and even that clothes are borrowed for the day. But I have no doubt at all that the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages. For one can reassure an anxious mother, can teach an ignorant one, can warn a careless one and can compel a neglectful one by means of the "Cruelty man"—the officer of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

In the case of the children in the Infant Department, about 75 per cent. of the parents present themselves at the examination, a smaller number appearing for the older boys and girls.

If there is a Teachers' Room in the school, the examination takes place there; if not, any small classroom is used. It is best to examine each child separately, the parent and the head teacher, and in special cases the class teacher, being the only persons present besides the doctor and scholar. The child's heart and lungs, ears and eyes, nose, throat and teeth are examined. The general condition is also noted as to sufficiency of fat, of muscle, the nutrition of the skin, the cleanliness of hair and body generally and the decency and suitability of clothing, including boots. I remember examining a child whose clothes were particularly dirty, and sent a card to the mother to that effect. She and the father both came to see me in the afternoon, very irate, and persisted that the child's clothes were perfectly clean. When I pointed out various defects in cleanliness she retorted, "Well! they came back like that from the laundry!"

On an average, eight children are examined per hour. Each child has a scheduled card of its own on which its name, age, height and weight are recorded, and the condition found on examination, with the date of the

examination. The card permits of the results of four examinations being entered, and space is left on which to note the advice given, the action taken and any change in the condition. The card is passed from one department to another and from one school to another, as the scholar moves on. Should neither parent be present at the examination, a printed card is sent stating that the child is suffering from such and such a complaint, and that the doctor advises that this be attended to at once. In the case of enlarged tonsils and adenoids, squint, discharging ears and other of the common defects of school children, the probable bad results if the disease is neglected, are given. The schedules of those children who are in any way defective are put aside and the children are re-examined in a week or a month or three months, according to the abnormality and the time available. If no notice is taken of the advice after a reasonable interval, a second card is sent, and if there is continued neglect, a card of warning that the parents will have to explain the reason to the Education Committee, gives them another chance.

It is of enormous advantage to have the help and interest of the head teacher and class teacher if much is going to result from this examination of school children. The parents know the teacher much better than they know the school doctor, have frequently had valuable advice and help before, and have confidence. And the teacher can do an immense amount in carrying out the instructions of the doctor, *e.g.*, with regard to special exercises for spinal curvature, special practice of the muscles for infantile paralysis, special care of handkerchiefs in mouth breathing, and so on. It is indeed well to remember the weight of the burden placed upon the already hard-worked head teacher by the School Medical Inspection and to ask for his or her help and co-operation and not demand it. I have seldom found teachers fail to do their best—often with great success—to improve the physical as well as the mental condition of the children under their care.

Wherever possible the parents are encouraged to take the child to a private doctor for treatment, and should they not be able to afford it, there is usually a public institution to which they can apply. In some of our cities school clinics are established at which the children are treated free. No internal medicine is given, but defects of eyesight and hearing are treated and many skin diseases. In some places also there is a dental clinic for extracting or stopping teeth.

Besides definite diseases and defects, one often finds the child suffering from general weakness, or delicacy, frequently easily cured by a more suitable diet and reasonable amount of sleep. A large number of the parents of elementary school children have little idea of bringing up their children in a rational way suitable to their age, and even if they know anything of the laws of health, they exercise but little authority over their children. For food they give them "anything that we have," "anything they ask for," and one frequently hears of a child of four "But she *will* have tea ; she won't take milk, and she won't go to bed till we do." One can always demonstrate by sending for a cup of milk then and there, that there is very seldom the slightest difficulty in getting a child to obey at school, and it is worth while doing so to show foolish parents that obedience is a habit which can be acquired and which must be taught, for it is of vital importance to the physical and moral welfare of a child. Sometimes the parents are so pleased at seeing their children readily drinking the milk in school, when told, that they agree to sending a bottleful with the child each day, to be taken at playtime. One has to exercise great patience in trying to instil into mothers the necessity for simple wholesome food at regular intervals instead of the rich, unsuitable food so often given at odd times whenever the child is in the house. Comparatively few of the elementary school children have porridge, too most beans are unknown, soup is rarely used, though it can be cheaply

made with 1d. worth of bones and a few vegetables. It is so much easier to buy tinned salmon, fried fish already cooked, pickles and jam, and the tea can be kept stewing on the hob all day and is always ready! The poorly-nourished condition in which one finds many children is due to unsuitable food, not to actual want of food. When tinned salmon, pickles and tea are the chief diet of children of five years old, one cannot expect to find good physique. The School Doctor makes a note of cases of very poor nutrition, and the matter is investigated by the School Attendance Officer. If the family is really in a state of poverty, the child is provided with one or even two meals daily by the School Authorities, whose power is given them by the recent passing of the Provision of Meals Act. By a wise Committee the food chosen consists of porridge and milk, bread and milk, or bread and dripping with a cup of cocoa for breakfast, soup and potatoes, meat and potatoes and a simple milk pudding for dinner. Occasionally the choice of food is left to an incompetent individual, and I *have* seen tea and bread and jam given for dinner—the unutterable folly of it! But such mistakes are few and are remedied as soon as they are discovered.

Undoubtedly the schools have already done a very great deal in promoting cleanliness among persons to whom that virtue is of no value in itself. A small boy of seven years of age went with a message to a friend of mine and with him was a little sister of three. The lady said “Why is the little girl so dirty? Why does not your mother wash her?” The indignant answer was, “Her’s only three! Her doesn’t go school. Her doesn’t *get* washed!” Poor child. Two years to wait for a wash!

Very seldom is the school medical inspection resented. Occasionally one hears:—“We never had all this fuss at school and we’re all right”—sometimes it is merely a bore, commonly it is gladly accepted and at times it is eagerly

welcomed. I have heard, "Eh, it's a fine thing! Wish we'd had this chance at school!"

The School Doctor tries to explain in simple language the ill-effects of letting such troubles as squint, discharging ears, enlarged tonsils and adenoids continue. Some of the parents are so used to such conditions in their children that they can scarcely be persuaded to believe that anything requires alteration. "He's always had it" is sufficient reason for allowing Tommy to go on having disease. I remember well spending some time on trying to persuade one mother to have her little girl's very bad squint attended to before she lost the power of seeing with the squinting eye. The only answer I could get was the oft-repeated, "Father says No. Father says No. It spoils the figure." The last phrase I think meant that spectacles detracted from the appearance. It was already weird enough with the child apparently trying to look at her own optic nerve. But with patience and perseverance one can accomplish much.

It is said sometimes that too much is done for the poorer people, and indeed something is to be said for that view. The object of all this School Medical Inspection is to improve the race, to prevent deterioration and increase efficiency. The intention, in part, is to point out to parents their responsibility for their own children, and not to take the responsibility from them. The problem of how much to do and where to leave off is a very serious one, greatly increased by the weakness and inability of childhood.

DOROTHY W. STEVENSON.

Bradford, England.

NOTES ON CALCUTTA NATURAL HISTORY.

BY F. H. GRAVELY.

"In a country like India so many 'fountains of immortal bliss' lie open to everyone, in the observation and record of events of daily occurrence, that it seems to be almost a duty for anyone, who has realized how copious and unfailing they are, to do his best to make them known to others, however conscious he may be of his inability to do so in an attractive and adequate fashion."—Cunningham

CONDITIONS now must be very different from what they were years ago, when "jackals coursed and yelled about the streets of Calcutta from dusk to dawn every night" and the adjutant kept guard over the lions on the gateways leading to Government House. But if our city has lost something of its interest and picturesqueness thereby, it has gained in other directions, and an ample store of material is still at hand for all who derive pleasure from natural history observations. If the adjutant is altogether gone, we yet have jackals enough to satisfy curiosity, and to drown from time to time with their unearthly shrieks the more monotonous voices of our nocturnal insects. Why, then, is it so often said that people here rarely take any interest in natural history?

Anyone taking up this subject usually wishes first of all to learn the names of the creatures to which it introduces him, in order that he may supplement his own observations by reading of those which others have made before him, and perhaps pass on to others in his turn some slight additions to this knowledge; or at least in order that he may be able to talk more easily about these things to such of his acquaintances as have similar inclinations.

In England the fauna is so circumscribed and has been so largely studied, that everything likely to attract attention from the casual observer has long ago received a description and a name; and the numerous books in which

these descriptions have been brought together group by group, and summarized, simplifies as completely as possible the determination of the names of different species.

In India it is otherwise. The fauna is so vast and the workers are so comparatively few, that only a small proportion of the existant species have yet been described and named; and this applies to many groups of creatures large enough to attract attention from any naturalist in whose way they chance to come. Books collecting and summarizing such descriptions as have been published are, moreover, as yet quite insufficient; and as very few groups of the Indian fauna have been investigated to anything approaching their full extent, such compilations as have appeared—though permanently useful—are rarely complete for more than a very short time after they have been written. Consequently specialists themselves often find the naming of Indian animals a matter of considerable difficulty, even among the particular groups in which they take the greatest interest; and it is impossible for anyone to name correctly more than a very small percentage of those which attract attention from time to time among the numerous groups that compose our local fauna.

Anything nameless is apt to remain so ill-defined that one soon loses track of it altogether, and I believe that the very richness of the Indian fauna, which should increase its interest for us, is one of the principal causes of the surprising lack of interest in it shown by many of those who daily come in contact with it.

But as one sets out for a walk on the maidan in the late hot weather one may notice the innumerable earwigs that often appear on the wall that extends between Park Street and the Red Road, and may marvel at their swift gyrations, without waiting to learn that the species to which they belong has been described under the name *Diplatys gladiator*—especially when it is realized that scarcely anything has yet been recorded of this insect that is of the

slightest general interest. Until the Indian fauna has been far more completely described and classified than at present, zoologists working upon it must necessarily consider primarily, not such fascinating questions as are presented by the problem of how this earwig lives and moves and has its being, but how it differs from *Diplatys gerstaeckeri* of Burma and Ceylon and from other more or less closely allied species. Comparatively little beyond technical description is, consequently, to be found in strictly scientific works on the Indian fauna.

Several books on Indian natural history have, however, been written from a more attractive point of view ; and two of the most fascinating of these refer in particular to Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood. I refer, of course, to Cunningham's *Indian Friends and Acquaintances* and *Plagues and Pleasures of Life in Bengal*. Finn's *Birds of Calcutta*, too, forms a useful introduction to the branch of natural history with which it deals.

Conditions have, it is true, changed since Cunningham spent his "twenty-nine happy years in India ;" and already some of his notes seem to apply to a fauna richer and more interesting than that which we now see around us. Doubtless this is due, to some extent, to the concentration of nearly thirty years' records into the space of two volumes ; and partly to the fact that the fauna round about Calcutta—which he does not clearly distinguish from that of the nearer residential parts of the city—is undoubtedly richer than that close at hand. It is, however, also due to actual losses ; for the progress of our sanitation and other improvements must have affected a whole host of creatures along with the adjutant and the jackal, causing the disappearance of some and the great reduction of others, a process which still, no doubt, goes on.

Yet there is plenty left, and one need not go far afield to find it. The little earwig that is often to be seen gyrating on the wall between Park Street and the end of the Red Road has already been referred to. This itself

deserves further study. If caught and examined its colour will at once attract attention ; for in it the dull black and brown tints, that we are accustomed to associate with earwigs, is rendered striking by contrast with areas of bright yellow. The larva, too, instead of having the usual forceps, is provided with a pair of long and slender jointed tails ; while the adult, which has forceps of normal pattern, is rarely provided with wings.

Being wingless, it cannot fly to the lights of our dining-tables, where so many of the common blackish-brown species are often to be seen folding and unfolding their elaborately creased wings. But in the Eden Gardens, where the arc lamps recently abolished used to attract hosts of flying insects, the wingless earwig used often to be seen racing hither and thither on the walls in his characteristic manner. Among other insects attracted by these lights delicate May-flies were often numerous, and whenever the earwig, in the course of his gyrations, ran into one of these, he would seize it in his mouth and then—provided no resistance was offered—would make off with it without so much as a moment's pause in his erratic race. Calcutta May-flies are small and fragile, and they usually succumbed to the first attack. When they did not, they were dropped at once, and the earwig hurried along to find less resistant prey.

I have said that these earwigs are often to be seen on the wall between Park Street and the end of the Red Road. Last year, however, they disappeared from there, being replaced by a much larger and more powerful winged species of the same group, handsomely, though less brilliantly, marked with dark stripes on a pale yellowish-brown ground in front of a more uniformly dark abdomen. The smaller species is still to be found in Calcutta, for I still see it occasionally in my bathroom, where it is never common. Its disappearance from the wall is probably temporary, for I am told that the large species was very common there about eight years ago.

Further out on the maidan, near the Fort and the Havildars' tanks, are several of the bushes which produce the fruit called *ber* or Indian plum, bushes which often support a surprisingly rich and interesting fauna. One of these bushes I have now had under special observation for several years, watching its inhabitants come and go with the seasons, some of them feeding on its leaves, some on its juices, and some on one another. There is little to be seen upon it as a rule during the cold weather ; but at other times of the year it is well worth close attention.

Beetles are usually among the first insects to appear upon it as the hot weather advances. Of these one of the most interesting is a little tortoise-beetle, about a quarter of an inch long. It is brown in colour with a patch of iridescent green on each wing-case, and is often to be seen sitting on a leaf with a semi-transparent area in front of it where the leaf has been half eaten through. Sometimes there is a lightly convex black object attached to the surface of the leaf behind it. This black object is the egg of the beetle, from which in due time and under favourable conditions there hatches out a tiny, blackish, unattractive looking grub. As it grows this grub becomes more beautiful and assumes a pale green colour. The body may then readily be seen to be fringed with a series of plumose excrescences, which probably serve to render the outline of the body diffuse, and so to render the green creature even less conspicuous than it would otherwise be on a green leaf. A tail, too, is conspicuous ; and when disturbed the grub cocks up this tail over its back, so as to be largely obscured from view by a wad of some dirty-looking substance that is always carried on the end of the tail.

The dirty-looking substance just mentioned is no chance accumulation, though it looks rather like it. As the grub grows, it finds its skin insufficiently elastic, and like other growing insects it casts it from time to time. But the distal half of the tail is forked ; and here the skin

sticks as it is pushed off backwards, forming a crumpled mass which can be held up over the back like an umbrella when occasion arises.

Finally the grub ceases to feed and changes into a flattened green chrysalis which in due course produces the full-grown beetle. Later this lays eggs in its turn and so the cycle begins again.

But it is not every egg that produces a beetle-grub. If some of them are collected and placed in a tightly closed glass vessel it will often be found that instead of grubs minute winged insects emerge—parasites allied to the Ichneumon Flies, but of such small size and such wonderful delicacy that their beauty can only be seen with the aid of a microscope.

Ants are nearly always plentiful on this bush during the warmer months of the year. When they can find nothing better they appear to come for something secreted by the plant itself. Sooner or later, however, curious hopping bugs appear, and then the ants transfer their attentions to them.

These bugs are about a quarter of an inch long and they can jump and fly somewhat after the manner of a grasshopper; but once they have definitely settled down on a suitable branch they rarely seem to go away unless disturbed. They have a pair of conspicuous horns, which project on either side of the body above the head, and a longer median horn which is directed backwards above the body along the upper margin of the folded wings when the insect is at rest.

The posterior end of the body of the female is armed with two pairs of delicate lancets which are protected by a stout sheath when not in use. With the aid of these the insect makes horizontal incisions in the bark, in which to deposit its eggs. The eggs are small sausage-shaped structures, whose outline is easily visible to the naked eye through the thin layer of bark beneath which they lie side by side in rows—one row usually following

close upon another on account of the sluggish habits of the adult insect.

While the eggs are being laid the mother is jealously guarded by ants ; for these bugs, in common with many of the group to which they belong, secrete sweet juices of which ants are very fond. When the young ones hatch they receive the same protection ; and one of the chief obstacles to their study is the prompt and disconcerting manner in which the ants show their resentment of intrusion. Fortunately the weapons of these ants are less formidable in reality than their size, taken in conjunction with the known qualities of those of many much smaller species, would seem to indicate.

Another jumping bug with a big horn curved over its back may also be found, not infrequently, on the same bush. It is of a mottled brownish colour and lacks the paired horns of the last-mentioned insect. It is also more active, perhaps because it is not protected by ants ; for it is one of the "cuckoo-spit" insects whose secretion, during the growth-period at least, is a direct protection instead of a means for obtaining the protection of an army of pugnacious guardians.

The young of the ordinary type of cuckoo-spit insect secretes around itself a quantity of frothy liquid, from which the group derives its name. But in the horned variety now under consideration the secretion hardens on contact with air, and is used to form a slender tube, attached to a twig at one end and open at the other. In this all the growth stages are passed through.

These tubes—most of them long since empty—are quite common on *ber*. If a fully developed one be carefully examined a similar but much smaller tube will always be found wrapped round the twig close beside it ; for when the insect is quite small it secretes a narrow tube, then outgrows it and starts another of larger dimensions. It would be useless to make the second tube in continuation of the first, because the proboscis projects backwards, in

consequence of which the base of the tube, through which it sucks the juices of the twig, must itself be broad enough to contain the head.

The insect does not come out to feed, but lives in its tube till the winged adult is ready to emerge. Then it comes out, and after sitting for a few minutes on the end of its tube the skin splits along the middle of the back and is soon shed ; the wings quickly stretch and harden, and the insect is ready to jump or fly away to start another generation.

But the tubes found on *ber* are not all of one kind. Some are very rough and wrapped closely round a twig ; others are smoother, and project straight outwards from it except at the base. The latter are made by the insect just described ; the former by an allied insect of stouter build and more yellowish colour, whose horn is shorter and broader, and shut in on either side by the upper margins of the folded wings, so that it does not appear as a horn at all when the insect is at rest.

The largest of the insects which habitually frequent the bush I have been watching is the tusser silk moth. It is not usually noticed till rather late in the season, when its stout green caterpillars denude whole branches of their leaves. By that time these caterpillars are already large ; but even then they are by no means always easy to find, so well does their colour blend with that of their surroundings. When full grown they are over three inches long and nearly an inch thick. They then spin together a few leaves, among which they construct an extraordinarily hard and tough cocoon, than which it would be difficult to find anything looking less likely to yield a supply of marketable silk ; and from this the moth eventually emerges. In Calcutta a year suffices for two generations. The summer brood develops quickly in all stages ; but the winter brood passes the whole of the cold weather within the cocoon. The cocoons and their contents are somewhat heavy, and as there is a risk, especially during

the long cold-weather resting period, of the leaves by which they are supported dying and being displaced by others, the caterpillar when spinning the cocoon provides it with a substantial stalk, the free end of which is wound round the nearest twig and fastened firmly to it.

When the fading light of evening renders further observation difficult among the shadows of a bush, and the crickets, at certain seasons, start clamouring for attention, the tall grass so abundant during the rains in the wilder parts of the maidan begins to swarm with slender whitish spiders, of small or moderate size, each busily spinning the web which is to provide it with its nightly feast. Till the light begins to fade not one of these spiders is to be seen; by sunset or soon after almost every tuft of grass has its complement of finished webs, with a spider in the centre of each. And by morning no trace of all this industry remains. Why it should be so is a mystery, but even if placed out of reach of wind and rain a newly-made web completely disappears in the course of a single night.

It would be tedious to go on adding to the list of creatures which await observation all around. They themselves must be studied before interest in them can be fully awakened—no written account of them can ever be adequate for that. And I think I have said enough to show that, however poor our local fauna is in comparison with that of many other parts of India (and from this point of view it is very poor indeed), it is yet rich enough to afford ample scope for observation. Those who wish for somewhat greater variety than is to be found on the maidan may find it round the outskirts of the city. And those who wish for a complete change of scene, undisturbed by city influences, may find it amid the mangrove swamps of the Salt Lakes, where, moreover, strange conditions favour the growth of strange animals and plants.

F. H. GRAVELY.

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JOB CHARNOCK THE FOUNDER OF CALCUTTA AND THE ARMENIAN CONTROVERSY.

BY H. W. B. MORENO.

QUITE a controversy has circled round the name of Job Charnock, whether he was the founder of Calcutta or not. The Armenians have pointed out, with pardonable pride, that to them must be given the honour as the founders of the city, for they had a settlement in Sutanuti, the site of modern Calcutta, long before Job Charnock landed at, what was to be known afterwards as, Calcutta. Certain Englishmen have shown a tendency to support the theory of the Armenian founding of Calcutta; and if they have not done so openly and avowedly they have certainly done so in a manner that casts a shade of discredit on the Job Charnock theory. That eminent antiquarian, the late Professor C. R. Wilson, M.A., writing in the *Englishman* (Calcutta) as far back as the 31st of January 1895 under the heading "Armenian Founders of Calcutta," has stated that "it is gratifying to learn that the efforts which have recently been made by various enquirers and in various ways to push back the history of Calcutta to the remoter past, before the formation of the English settlement under Job Charnock, have not been altogether without fruit. By slow degrees evidences are being accumulated which tend to connect Calcutta with earlier traders and to prove that even before the building of Fort William the place was not without importance." After reviewing the evidences in favour of the Armenians being the founders of Calcutta, the learned professor concludes his arguments in a half-certain manner, couched in the form of a question :

“Was there already,” he asks, “an Armenian settlement here? Are the Armenians, after all, the founders of the city?” This attempt, by no means far-reaching in its consequence, to upset the Job Charnock theory would have died a natural death had not quite recently Mr. L. S. S. O’Malley, I. C. S., in charge of the Census operations in Bengal, resuscitated the question in a still more dubious form. Dealing with the Armenians as one of the communities in Bengal Mr. O’Malley points out that they had a settlement in Sutanuti (the site of the modern Calcutta) at least 60 years before the foundation of Calcutta by Job Charnock. There is no open avowal here, but from this statement the inference may be drawn that the Armenians, in some sense of the word, founded Calcutta, or what became known as Calcutta afterwards, long before Job Charnock landed and dreamed his dreams of foundation. To remove any such doubt and to clear the ground as far as may be, a careful survey is necessary of all the evidence pertaining thereto.

For the theory of the Armenian foundation of Calcutta what is the evidence in support? It pivots round an inscription on a tomb in the Armenian Churchyard of Calcutta bearing a date which, on translation, corresponds with the English Calendar reckoning, as the 11th of July 1630 A.D. which is certainly anterior to Job Charnock’s arrival in Calcutta in 1687, and much anterior to Job Charnock’s final landing in Calcutta, after a series of adventures, at noon on Sunday, the 24th August 1690 when the city may be said to have been actually founded. To have the evidence *in extenso* as to the Armenian foundation of the city, one is forced to quote largely from that able treatise, “The History of the Armenians in India” by Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth. It says:—“Prior to the days of Job Charnock and his founding of Calcutta in 1690 the Armenians, whose love of commerce has always been proverbial, had formed a small commercial settlement in the village of Sutanuti,

corresponding with the native portion of Calcutta traversed by Chitpore Road. Hautkhola Ghat was then known as *Sutanuti* Ghat. Though this statement regarding the early settlement of the Armenians in Calcutta might be questioned by zealous critics and antiquarians, it is supported by monumental evidence which places its accuracy beyond all doubt. The writer (Mr. Mesroby J. Seth) has lately brought to light an interesting inscription in the Armenian language, on a tombstone in the Armenian Churchyard of Calcutta bearing date the 11th July 1630 A.D. of which the following is a *verbatim* translation :—

“This is the tomb of Rezabeebah, wife of the late charitable Sookeas, who departed from this world to life eternal on the 21st day of Nakha (11th July) in the year 15 (New Era of Julfa = 1630 A.D.).* ”

“That the Armenians had established themselves in Calcutta before the arrival of Job Charnock, is evident from the date of the above inscription which is beyond doubt the oldest in Calcutta. The authenticity of the date might be questioned on the ground that the present Armenian Church was not at that time in existence, having been erected in the year 1724. Its site was the old Armenian burying-ground. Previous to 1724 the Armenians worshipped in a small chapel, built of timber, about a hundred yards to the south of the present church. This Armenian inscription upsets the ordinarily accepted account of the history of Calcutta prior to the British settlement, for it dates as far back as 1630, or about 60 years before Job Charnock, the East India Company’s Agent, set foot in Calcutta and hoisted the British flag on the banks of the Hooghly on that memorable day, the 24th of August 1690.”

What are then the salient points for discussion as found in this review of the theory of the Armenian

* “The New Era of Julfa in this year of grace (1895) is 280 and is known amongst us (the Armenians) as the ‘Era of Azarea,’ after one Azarea who reformed the Calendar. This era dates from the founding of the city of Julfa, a suburb of Ispahan and the headquarters of the Armenians in Persia, where they have settled since the days of Shah Abbas the Great, in the early part of the seventeenth century.”

foundation of Calcutta? First, that the Armenians settled for the purposes of commerce in the village of Sutanuti,* next that they “worshipped in a small chapel, built of timber,” therein situated, and lastly, that in 1630 A.D., corresponding by calculation to a certain year in the Armenian Calendar, there was erected the tomb of one “Rezabeebah the wife of the late charitable Sookeas.” Taking the second point first it must be asserted that the “small chapel, built of timber” was nowhere in existence in 1630 A.D. Its erection took place when it was built for them by the Hon’ble East India Company in 1689, in accordance with the agreement made with them in 1688, through that born diplomatist and leader of men, the Armenian Khoja Phanoos Kalendar, through whose good influence many far-reaching privileges were granted by the Company. It is interesting to note the terms of the order. It runs :—

“Whenever forty or more of the Armenian Nation shall become inhabitants of any garrisons, cities or towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies, the said Armenians shall not only enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion, but there shall also be allotted to them a parcel of ground to erect a Church thereon for worship and service of God in their own way. And that we also will, at our own charge, cause a convenient Church to be built, of timber” (this led to the putting up of the “small chapel built of timber” “which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build with stone, or solid materials to their own good liking.” (This was subsequently done and the present Armenian Church of S. Nazareth was erected in 1724 not far from the site occupied by the timber-built chapel.) “And the said Governor and the Company will also allow fifty pounds per annum, during the space of seven years, for maintenance of such priest or minister as they shall choose to officiate therein. Given under the Company’s Larger Seal, etc., June 22, 1688.”

Having disposed of the second point as to the date of the erection of the timber-built chapel, the first and last points may be taken together, namely, the settlement of the Armenians at Sutanuti long before the advent of Job Charnock and the tomb of Rezabeebah bearing the date equivalent to the English year 1630 A.D. That the Armenians traded with the people of India long before the British touched its shores is undoubted. As far back as 780 A.D. it is said that one Thomas Cana landed on the Malabar Coast. He is better known by the name of Mar Thomas. At this time Shoo Ram was ruler of Cranganore. Thirsting for trade and laden with attractive stuffs from where they came, the Armenians marched the length and breadth of India bartering their wares, and in many cases amassing considerable wealth. But were they settlers in the real sense of the word? Was their purpose that of acquiring settlements in India and abiding therein, or were they merely itinerant traders? On this point it seems the whole discussion hinges. If they owned settlements and treated them as exclusively theirs, they may rightly be said to have settled in India. Austin in describing ownership (cf. Jurisprudence ii., p. 477, also cf. iii., p. 2) points out that it is a right "over a determinate thing, indefinite in point of user, unrestricted in point of disposition and unlimited in point of duration." Were the Armenians, in the light of this definition, owners of Sutanuti? It is to be feared they were not. They may have been at the village, they may have resided there, they may have even buried their dead so long as they abided there, but did that give them ownership?

The Armenians settled as traders in Benares, in Patna and Behar, in the last of which places they buried their dead, erecting tombstones over them, some of which are preserved to this day; in Sydabad and Chinsurah they resided more permanently and effected much good in the erection of public places of worship

and almshouses, not to speak of other munificent donations they gave in the cause of charity, but nowhere is it mentioned or claimed that they had settlements there. They came and went as other traders before and after them had done. Indeed, if mere trade with the inhabitants of a village may count as evidence as to the foundation of a city, the Portuguese had long forestalled the Armenians in the founding of Calcutta, for we read that the Port of the future Calcutta was early known to the Portuguese whose galleons from 1530 onwards anchored there for the purpose of transferring cargo to the country craft that lay all around (cf., Sir W. Hunter's *The Thackerays in India, Some Calcutta Graves*, p. 38). The erection then of a single tomb, however ancient it may be, by itself affords but slender evidence for the founding of a city, for "Rezabecbah" may have been "the wife of the charitable Sookeas" who in the English year 1630 A.D. may have lost her while she devotedly shared with him his perilous journeys as a trader, and, who to honour her pious memory, may have erected this tombstone which has so long withstood the ravages of wind and rain and the other obliterating elements of the destructive climate of Lower Bengal.

On the other hand what is the evidence as to the founding of Calcutta by Job Charnock? In 1655 or about 1656 Job Charnock sailed for India. In 1680, when he had married his Hindu wife, whose memory he cherished long after death by an anniversary sacrifice of a cock on her tomb, he was promoted to the more central charge of the Company's house of business near the modern Murshidabad, with the claim to succeed as chief of all the factories in Bengal at Hugli town. Harassed on all sides by foreign foes and misjudged by his masters, the Directors of the Company in England, he slipped away from Hugli town in 1686, dropped down the river twenty-seven miles and anchored in the long deep pool opposite Sutanati Hat, or Cotton Thread Mart, a

mere hamlet, a bazaar of mat huts. For four months he laboured to form a settlement there on the low bank of the river and even hoped for permission to build a fort. His one thought was to make his masters the owners of the settlement against all others, but he failed in the beginning, for the odds were against him; and the founding of Calcutta dates not with the year 1686 or 1687 for the reason that there was no English settlement established in the place at that time. The Moghul forces began to press upon him and his small garrison; and he was compelled to fortify himself at Hugli on the east bank of the river which place proving equally unsuccessful, he tried another, Ulubaria, "the abode of owls," half way up the river. Thwarted on all sides, after undergoing all of sorts of privations and dangers in his wanderings, Job Charnock with his Council and Factors landed for the third and last time at the Cotton Mart, by noon, on Sunday, the 24th of August 1690. In their Consultation Book, bearing that date, it is mentioned they "found the place in a deplorable condition, nothing being left for our present accommodation, and the rain falling day and night." Yet from this date begins the actual founding of Calcutta for the English by Job Charnock for henceforward he permanently established himself therein, raising fortifications for its defence and guarding the settlement for the English. Scrambling up the mud bank at that time with an emaciated guard of only thirty soldiers he maintained his position against all odds, and Calcutta, then the haunt of malaria, the abode of the wild hog, the buffalo and the tiger, by dint of perseverance and the dogged energy of its founder grew to be, for many years after, the British capital of India, and is even now the largest city of the Indian Empire.

The early history of Calcutta is begemmed with the heroic deeds of its intrepid founder; all through the merciless rains of 1690 he struggled on. Opposed by Indians, by Frenchmen and even by his own countrymen

he plodded on in the founding of the settlement, till his labour seemed nought more than the outcome of foolish obstinacy. Yet Calcutta grew apace.* Sir William Hunter describing those stirring times goes on to mention how the place "once fortified, its position secured it on three sides from attack. Its deep harbour attracted the trade from the Dutch and French settlements on the shallow reaches higher up the river, and the native merchants began to crowd to a place where they felt safe. It was perceived that a few armed ships in the Calcutta pool could cut off the upper settlement from the sea. But the fever-haunted swamp which stretched beyond the high river bank exacted a terrible price for its prosperity. The name of Calcutta, taken from a neighbouring Hindu shrine, was identified by mariners with Golgotha—the place of skulls. By the middle of 1692 they had made firm their footing. Within a decade after Charnock finally landed on the deserted river bank in 1690, it had become a mart with 1,250 European inhabitants, of whom 450 were buried between the months of August and January in one year. The miseries of the fever-stricken land throughout 1690 and 1691 are not to be told in words."

On 10th January 1693 Charnock went to his grave a sorrowing man, misjudged by those who should have honoured him for his noble work. He lies buried in the cemetery of the Old Cathedral (S. John's Church), a fit resting-place for one who had laid the foundations of the city in years gone by. As the inscription over his tomb asserts, he was a sojourner "*qui postquam in solo non suo peregrinatus esset diu, reversus est domum suae aeternitatis*" (a wanderer, who after sojourning for a long time in a land not his own, returned to his Eternal Home).

No one will refuse the credit due to the Armenians who were the forerunners of the British, as merchants and tradesmen in India, no one will deny that they have stood loyally by the British in all times of necessity and trouble, giving of their best and manfully fighting and dying to

establish British supremacy in India ; but if the founding of a city be more than the mere trading with people, if it be the ownership of its soil, the armed protection of its inhabitants and the establishment of a centre where citizens may come and go without fear of rapine, then the palm for the founding of Calcutta must unhesitatingly be awarded to Job Charnock, who lies peacefully within its pale, while on all sides is the hum and commotion of its busy thoroughfares, while round about rise buildings upon buildings, magnificent in structure and stately in appearance, which go to make up the one-time metropolis of India, a glorious city which in the dim distant days he so heroically founded.

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RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES FOR STUDENTS.

BY R. N. GILCHRIST.

II.

IN my first article I showed from the experience of many Universities within the British Empire that students' housing policy in the new Universities has been very adventitious. Most modern Universities regard housing as a relatively unimportant matter. The nineteenth century saw many Universities founded in the United Kingdom and the British Colonies, and in all these the actual building of the teaching institutions, the foundation of chairs and the equipment of laboratories were the first considerations. The housing of students followed slowly in the wake of the teaching buildings; in fact, in many cases it has been left almost entirely to itself. Not only has the building of houses for students been regarded as a matter of secondary importance, but in no modern University has residence been made the criterion of the University course. Oxford and Cambridge stand alone in this respect. Class attendance has been universally adopted as the guarantee of work done during a University career. I also endeavoured to show in my previous article that where University authorities are taking serious steps to provide accommodation for students, they do not adopt the Oxford and Cambridge model but rather a modification of Scotch University model. Semi-independent residences with either a slight University connexion or none at all, or residences managed by special agencies are the modern rule. I further argued that where students' residences are to be established, the nature of the government of that residence should depend on the type of the University.

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Where the University and college or colleges are of the "unitary" type, *i.e.*, where the central body is to all intents and purposes indistinguishable from the parts, the residence should be on the University basis; where the colleges have their own distinct individualities, residence should be collegiate. And in this connexion, I made special note of the recent general recommendations of the London University Commission. The Commission declared that residence should be of the University type, whereas in a federal University of the type of London I argued that the only possible residence was the collegiate type.

In this article I shall set forth the bearings of these general principles on Indian Universities. The model of the Indian Universities is London University, and insomuch as they are under a common type of government it will suffice if we take Calcutta University as a type. Though, however, the Indian Universities are all similar at present, there are to be some very interesting experiments in the near future. Aligarh and Benares are to have Universities which as far as one can judge are to be of the unitary type. The Patna University Commission has recommended a modified repetition of the existing type; while the Governments of India and Bengal, acting on the recommendations of the Dacca University Committee, are to attempt to do in one fell stroke what no authority in England, Scotland, Ireland, in the British Colonies, or anywhere else on the face of the earth as far as I am aware has ever been able to do—to establish a ready-made Oxford or Cambridge. It will be very interesting to see what can be done in Dacca by a few strokes of the pen as compared with what has been done in Oxford and Cambridge by a gradual evolution during many centuries.

The hostel is the normal residence for students in Bengal. Government has been very liberal in building hostels for both colleges and schools, whether these colleges or schools are directly under Government control or not.

His Excellency Lord Hardinge has given special heed to the provision of hostels. Not only has he shown his interest by giving grants, but during his tenure of office he has made several visits to hostels in Calcutta to enable him to appreciate the value of hostels. The liberal grants of the Government of India during the last five years are a very tangible proof of his convictions.

It is in the fitness of things that his last speech to the University Convocation should contain a promise of a further ten lakhs for hostels. The work of the Government of India during his term of office may best be summed up in his own words, spoken at the recent Convocation :—

Early in my term of office I made a point of personally investigating the conditions in which students in Calcutta reside. It is a matter of common knowledge that these conditions leave much to be desired and that, even where in default of hostels the lodgings occupied are unobjectionable on sanitary or other grounds, there is little chance for that community and pleasant intercourse of life which Cardinal Newman described as worth more than all the teaching and examination which a non-residential university can provide. Two years ago, your Vice-Chancellor described it as a matter of the deepest regret that visible progress had not yet been effected in the erection of hostels for colleges in the city other than the University Law College ; “and,” he continued, “to all interested in the welfare of our students, it is still a matter of grave concern that they continue in many instances to live under very unfavourable conditions. The University Law College has a commodious hostel ; I am proud that it bears my name. There are also good hostels attached to some of the colleges. But I understand that a large number of university students and practically all of those of certain colleges have no place of residence save what they can find, in the shape sometimes of licensed and subsidized hostels, up and down the city. In the past few years, my Government has given out a capital grant of 14 lakhs for hostels in Calcutta, exclusive of the three lakhs given for the Hardinge Hostel and of a further 24½ lakhs given for hostels in the *mofussal*. Imperial Funds have also contributed over 3¼ lakhs towards the building of the University Institute on the completion and success

of which I lay great stress as one of the few social links which may bind your students into the corporate life proper to a university. Thus Government has done much. But I cannot conceal from myself that much more still remains to be done. And I would urge upon the University the desirability of consolidating its work by some concentration of energy on the residential system, without which the creation of new chairs and the construction of new laboratories are but too likely to prove of little avail. With a view to contribute towards this end and to commemorate this visit, I am glad to announce that my Government will make a further capital grant of ten lakhs to the University of Calcutta, on certain conditions, for the building of hostels for undergraduates studying in affiliated colleges in Calcutta.

There cannot be said to be such a thing as a type hostel. Each institution has its own method of internal organization, but a few general characteristics are common to all hostels. First and foremost, hostels are essentially collegiate. There are of course a number of non-collegiate hostels, but they are not the standard residences. The normal hostel is a collegiate building, controlled in all essentials of organization by its own college. Secondly, hostels are specially built as such. They are not the only collegiate residential buildings, but they are the only collegiate residential buildings specially constructed as such, and as a result of this, they are also rent free as buildings. Thirdly, they all have superintendents, who are officials, either professors or clerical officers, of their respective colleges.

Great as has been the increase in the number of hostels in Bengal during recent years, the rate of progress had been totally disproportionate to the very rapid increase in the numbers of students. The University has battled gallantly with the on-coming armies (which are led by itself) and in order to supplement the hostels it has legalized a number of residences which are meant merely to be makeshifts. These may be designated by the general term "Messses," but in addition to the messses there exist the non-collegiate hostels, the unlicensed

hostels (not recognized by the University) and the indiscriminate system (or lack of system) termed guardianship. Messes are of two kinds—attached and unattached. The messes and non-collegiate hostels are under the supervision of the Inspector of Messes, an official of the University, who in his turn is controlled by the Students' Residence Committee and the Syndicate. According to the University Regulations this Committee is composed of six Fellows of the University, of whom three at least must be Indians. It is elected annually. On the Committee there is always a medical member, his duty being to inspect the houses rented as messes and to certify them habitable from a sanitary point of view.

A mess, as defined by the University Regulations (Chapter XXIV), is "a temporary boarding-house formed by a combination of students who desire to share expenses." A mess need not have any fixity of location for a period longer than one academical year and the financial responsibility of messes is definitely stated not to rest with the college or colleges with which they may be connected. There are, however, two distinct types of messes under this general description, for, as the Regulations say:—"In the case of messes for which the University or any other public body provides the funds in part or in whole each mess shall be attached to one college and the students living in that mess shall be all students of one and the same college, and the Principal of that college shall have full control over that mess. Such messes shall be called attached messes" (University Regulations, Chapter XXIV, Paragraph 19) and "Messes which receive no subvention from public bodies shall be known as unattached messes" (Chapter XXIV, section 21).

Attached messes, as will be gathered from the definition just given, are houses rented by the University for one year and given over to some college. The University, however, is the supreme controlling body as regards both discipline and finance, but the residents of attached

messes are students of only one college, *i.e.*, these messes are collegiate residences. They have not the same status, of course, as the hostel; none the less they are essentially collegiate, and as such perform a valuable function in the University scheme of residence. The attached mess system is a makeshift, perhaps, but it has within it distinct potentialities. Attached messes, in fact, are hostels in all respects save one—that they are merely rented houses and not specially built as hostels. Nevertheless both Government and University authorities look upon them with little favour. It is true that the definition of mess implies that they have no local fixity, but what happens in point of fact is that the same houses are rented year after year, and, as a rule, given over to the same college as occupied them the previous year if that college requires them. The attached messes thus tend to become permanent institutions, with a definite lasting college connexion, sanctified by time. I have personally inspected every attached mess in Calcutta, and if they are not all up to hostel standard as regards actual construction, at least they can claim to be of a relatively high standard of housing.

It has become an accepted maxim of students housing policy in India to regard houses which are rented as being essentially temporary. Why this should be so I fail to understand. It does not make a vital difference to the meaning of a students' residence if it is only rented, as contrasted with being specially constructed. The end is the same—to serve the purposes of sound collegiate education, and the end, as the greatest philosophical authority in the world has told us, is the sound criterion of definition. To insist on this differentia of rent absolutely condemns attached messes, whereas I think that a few considerations will show how they really could be an essential, not temporary, part of the whole residential system.

At present Government subsidizes the attached messes to a certain extent. In a college where there are both

hostels and attached messes, it is desirable to avoid invidious distinctions as far as possible, and the principle has been accepted that students in attached messes should not on the whole have higher expenses of living than students in hostels. Obviously were these messes self-supporting the expenses of the students would vary according to the rent of the house occupied. This supply and demand rule however does not hold, for the reason that it is impossible to rent houses to meet the exact demand of any one college. Hence there are usually a few "seats" unoccupied, as all the students must belong to one college, and if students of that college are not available then the places must go unoccupied. It would be hard on the students to make up this deficit, hence Government has come to the aid of the colleges by giving an annual grant to the University to cover deficits. During the last few years Government has borne its share in the following ratio :—

Year.	Percentage of Rent borne by Government.		
1905-06	29·1
1906-07	38·3
1907-08	26·7
1908-09	36·6
1909-10	36
1910-11	27·6
1911-12	28·7
1912-13	24·4
1913-14	25·9

The fault of the present system is that it is inelastic. An elastic system of attached messes, as I shall show presently, might go far towards solving the housing problem in Calcutta colleges. Before doing so, however, I must describe the other residential institutions at present in existence.

Unattached messes may best be described by the term "chummary." They are formed by numbers of students

renting a house for themselves and sharing expenses. Unattached messes receive no subsidy from Government. They are non-collegiate, students of all colleges living together in them. Sometimes it may happen that the members are students of only one college, but as a rule several colleges are represented in the unattached mess. In several messes of this type which I visited recently I found as many as eight colleges represented, and for 24 of the 33 unattached messes in Calcutta in the session 1913-14 the average number of colleges represented was six.

The reasons for the existence of unattached messes are many. The main one is simply that other accommodation is not available. Many students, however, prefer living "on their own" in unattached messes, to being under the direct supervision which either a hostel or an attached mess entails. Unattached messes have superintendents, it is true, but they are merely nominal heads. One student is nominated by his fellow-boarders as superintendent, to satisfy the rules, but from the very nature of the case he cannot be expected to be a hard taskmaster. The only real supervision exercised over them is the periodical visit of the Inspector of Messes, whose duties are so multifarious that the students may reckon on his visits being infrequent. Another reason for the existence of the unattached mess is that students from one district sometimes prefer to stay together: thus there are Sylhet, Malda, Pabna or Mymensingh messes. It needs no argument to demonstrate the badness of this type of life. The students come to receive a *university* education, and in a University there is no place for provincialism or localism. Still another reason, though an invalid one, is cheapness. It seems rather incongruous that this should be given as a reason, considering that attached messes and hostels are subsidized. Nevertheless, many students argue that they can live more cheaply in the unattached messes, even though they have to pay the whole

rent themselves and at the same time avoid overcrowding. From estimates received from various quarters, however, I reckon that the unattached messes are on the whole more expensive than other forms of residence. Of course, the estimates vary very much because the standard of living in the messes varies. Perhaps the fact that students can regulate their own lives, the richer living together in their own way and the poor doing the same, each to his own, may be the most potent argument in favour of the unattached messes.

It may seem peculiar to those who are not acquainted with the colleges here that the unattached messes are placed last in the scale of preference by students. Despite the relative freedom of life of these messes, students as a whole place hostels first, attached messes second, and unattached messes last. The reason is undoubtedly that the unattached messes are non-collegiate. Students lose their college identity in them, for these messes do not possess the prerequisites of common life, common interests. Nothing shows more clearly the slight bond of a federal university over its students than this low esteem of unattached messes. The students are *all* University students—as such they are one—but, unless, indeed, there are other bonds such as district community or blood relationship, the University tie is so flimsy as to be almost unfelt. Students as well as college authorities desire the purely collegiate residence, wherein alone is possible the best type of University life.

The unattached mess system is universally condemned by college and University authorities alike. Although the houses rented as unattached messes have to come up to standard in sanitation and air space, yet in the system there are many elements of weakness. The most obvious drawback is that these messes are non-collegiate. Students living in them have no college identity, and college authorities take no interest in institutions of which only a small fraction has any college connexion. Because of this, the unattached messes do not lend themselves easily to control

by any college. While they are seldom guilty of actually breaking written rules, the whole spirit of the system is non-conducive to discipline and order. Their educative function, in short, is more negative than positive. Not only so, but the students are not seldom deceived by landlords or "proprietors" of messes, and especially is this the case when students fresh from the *mofussal* are pitted against the wiles of experienced city landlords.

Two other forms of residence remain to be noted. One is the nondescript type of unlicensed messes and guardianship. There is still a very considerable proportion of Calcutta students who live under no proper control or supervision, in spite of the fact that each student has nominally to conform to certain rules. Unlicensed messes are merely lodginghouses where people of all castes and creeds and occupations congregate. The guardian system is more difficult to tamper with, as if guardianship is *bona fide* nothing can be said against it, but where it is *not*, as when one student is guardian of another, as often happens, then everything is to be said against it. Of course elaborate machinery might prevent abuses, but at present it does not exist. Examination of individual cases would eliminate the nondescript type of residence, but that is a task which has yet to be undertaken.

The evils of the "guardian" system are now far less than they used to be in Calcutta, at least in colleges. The seriousness of the problem in the *mofussal*, however, may be gauged from the following remarks of the recent District Administration Committee which reflect the seriousness of the problem in schools in Bengal. Speaking of overcrowding in schools the Report says:—

"Overcrowding frequently means that numbers of pupils come from outside villages and other districts. For these boarding arrangements are neither adequate nor satisfactory. Many live with 'guardians,' 'related' or 'unrelated,' and such guardians leave them very much to themselves. In any case they receive little or no out-of-school supervision from their teachers and

masters. Some board in messes or hostels which are, with few exceptions—notably the excellent hostels of the Oxford Mission—poorly housed and feebly supervised. In one town of evil reputation we found a mess of students close to a high road at a little distance from the municipal area where 20 young *bhadralog* were living in a collection of huts rented from a landholder for Rs. 18 a month. There were about four young men in each hut. They were under the control of a monitor aged 22—one of themselves—and a professor who visited them. A mess is certainly no place for schoolboys and hardly a desirable residence for students, some of whom either are or have hardly ceased to be boys. It is obvious that the authorities of an overcrowded school must be in a position which renders it impossible for them to devote to those pupils who do not reside with parents even the very small amount of supervision ordinarily available for boys from outside. In one large school the Headmaster frankly informed us that he took on trust the statements of his pupils as to the guardians with whom they resided.”

Mutatis mutandis these remarks may be applied to the nondescript Calcutta students' residences.

The other type is the non-collegiate hostel. Hostels of this type are supplementary to collegiate hostels, and by reason of their excellent management are often set down as first preferences by students. These hostels usually receive liberal grants from Government; in fact, they are treated much in the same way as college hostels. The non-collegiate hostels have a somewhat precarious future. Dacca University is to adopt the collegiate system, and the logical outcome of this is the abolition of non-collegiate residences. To abolish them, however, will mean the abolition of some of the best hostels in India, for the various Oxford Mission hostels and the Baptist Mission hostels come under this designation. These hostels may not be models of *collegiate* hostels, but they are models of *well-managed* hostels. The Oxford Mission hostel in Calcutta is regarded by most students and authorities as being *facile princeps* of hostels, which is saying a good deal, as the hostels of other missionary bodies as well as of the Government colleges reach a high standard. It is

obviously foolish to lose the finest forces in hostel life, and it is to be hoped that the Universities of the future will contain a specific place for them. They can be utilized either as college institutions—in which case they would have to be definitely attached to a college—or they can be used to accommodate excess of numbers (for periodic overflows are likely to occur even in a well-regulated University and they might be made the only recognized institutions for such an overflow). Of course the question is not a pressing one in Calcutta, but at Dacca the establishment of the new University will mean that either special provision must be made for them as collegiate hostels or that they will have to confine their activities to schools.

In the official list of non-collegiate hostels, in addition to such well-known institutions as the Oxford Mission hostels, are included several institutions which are really unattached messes, *e.g.*, the Buddhist hostel and the Uriya Law Students' hostels. These so-called "hostels" exist for their nominal purposes (*i.e.*, for Buddhists and Uriya Law Students), and their existence calls attention to an important factor in any Indian residential system, *viz.*, sectarianism. Sectarianism in its two forms is a serious barrier to the realization of the collegiate ideal in local students' residence. These two forms of sectarianism are religion and caste. It is impossible from the very nature of things to overlook these factors; they introduce elements which are either non-existent in the West or are fast dying away. A hostel in the West with properly framed rules may include students of very different views on religious affairs, or of very different social strata. I pointed out in my previous article how the best modern institutions if they include religion among their rules at all, make the basis of that religion sufficiently broad to include most sects of the Christian religion, or even non-Christian religions. But in India no *rapprochement* is possible between Hindus, Moslems, Christians and Buddhists. There are indeed hostels

where fairly various elements coalesce, e.g., Brahmos, Christians and Buddhists and even "advanced" Hindus may live together. The actual tendency is all the other way. Each religion demands separate treatment. Muhammadans are housed separately, and they are likely to have a separate college for themselves in the near future. The Buddhists have a separate house, and the Anglo-Indian Community also is pressing for separate treatment. Such sectarianism eats into the very vitals of common life, and the impossibility of overcoming it makes it all the more unfortunate. Even although there are indications of a coming brotherhood in the fact that several *prima facie* irreconcilable elements do as a matter of fact coalesce in some hostels, yet the day is far distant when a thoroughgoing community of life will be possible. Even now the hostels where such unions exist are often looked down on as of low caste. The only possible thing to do in the circumstances is to make the best of it, and the only possible means to make such a best seems to be either to have separate sectarian colleges (as is proposed for the Muhammadans) or to set apart certain colleges for certain sects (e.g., Chittagong College might be the Buddhist centre, though it would also contain other elements). To carry on in the present unsatisfactory manner of housing the sects in any manner that seems convenient for the moment may silence clamant voices but it is not the best for the education of the students.

To those unacquainted with Calcutta students it may seem that great as is the division caused by religious differences, still more will be the divisions caused by caste. This, however, is far from the truth. The extent to which caste affects the student community may be gauged from the fact that in Calcutta no caste residences exist. Even in the unattached messes, where caste could have its full effect, it plays a very inconspicuous part. Caste is really no barrier to the common life. The democracy characteristic of all Universities has

prevailed over the usage of countless centuries in India. The idea of fraternity is a practical one among the students as students, however much the hierarchical caste usages may affect them in other relations. In the *mofussal*, however, "caste" messes or hostels do exist, but I am informed by competent observers that even there the necessity for, social demarcation is dying away. In the West, of course, the only distinction that counts among students in this respect is difference of wealth. This does not count for much in Bengal, so far as I have been able to observe. In fact the way in which it does count is altogether salutary, for in several colleges as well as in the University Institute, there are funds promoted by the richer students for the benefit of their poorer brethren. It is very gratifying that such communal feeling should exist in spite of the tremendous traditional barriers—gratifying in itself and in the promise it gives for the future.

All those institutions recognized by the University of Calcutta have this in common,—that they are under superintendence of some sort. Collegiate hostels usually provide special quarters for superintendents, who are as a rule members of the college staff. The lead in this respect is given by missionary institutions which usually tend to be completely residential, *i.e.*, students and staff live in the same compound, often in the same houses. In the Scottish Churches College, or St. Paul's Cathedral College, for example, the professors live on flats above the Colleges or in houses in the College compound, and the students' hostels are either near the College or in the same compound as the College, and in these hostels special quarters are provided for members of the College staff. The Government colleges, which are as a rule well equipped for purely intellectual work, have much to learn from the missionary colleges in regard to residence. The leading Government College in Calcutta—Presidency College—has no houses for its professoriate, the European members of which have to live several miles from the

College. It has only one hostel with no family quarters for superintendents. The question of superintendents has been a burning one for many years in Bengal. It is usually said that superintendents cannot be procured without paying for them—an argument which has resulted in a considerable expenditure of public money. It is true that under present conditions it is difficult to find suitable superintendents, but payment of superintendents merely aggravates the difficulty. The best type of superintendent is the man who takes up the work because he wishes to—hence in missionary institutions superintendence is taken by men who feel interested in the work but who receive no additional pay for it. Payment merely tends to create a class of professional superintendents who will indeed do the routine work, but will not trouble to acquire intimate knowledge of, and sympathy for, the lives of their students. The professional superintendent is more likely to defeat the end of superintendence than to further it. By rigidly enforcing rules in a mechanical way he will create antipathy among the students whereas the man who knows the students and can help them will be able to help them to lead better lives. The amateur superintendent, however, is scarce and as yet payment is commonly necessary in order to have superintendents of any kind. A far more important thing than payment is the provision of adequate quarters for professors and superintendents, whether the superintendents be European or Indian. Much ink has been spilt over the question as to whether family quarters should be provided in hostels. It is needless to argue the question in face of the facts—as instanced in missionary institutions, where family quarters *are* provided and where the system works very well. And I have been assured by many Hindu gentlemen in Calcutta and out of Calcutta that only a few architectural devices are necessary for the provision of similar quarters for Hindu professors and their families in hostels and messes. Here again it is needless to argue in face of facts, for Hindu

gentlemen do actually live with their families in certain messes in Dacca. Perhaps a little more serious attention to this question of common residence of students and professors in colleges would help to eradicate that blot in our University Colleges which has become too prominent of late, namely, the implication of students in political sedition. It is absolutely impossible for professors of colleges to take a practical interest in their students if they stay several miles from their college. The last thing in the world that I should advocate is the conversion of teachers into detectives, but in crime there is a far more valuable thing than detection, and that is prevention. A more sympathetic system of working between the police and educational authorities, it seems to me, would nip in the bud many a potential pervert. There is a certain traditional antagonism between educational and police administrations of India, an antagonism based on a failure to understand what education means. Education is commonly blamed for political sedition. To a certain extent this is true. Education always breeds unrest. It destroys the stability of the good by showing a better. Educationists, however, must guide the students from the good to the better, and it is far from achieving their end to see the worse prevail. Instead of college authorities and students taking delight in the waywardness of students, the very opposite is the truth. The wayward student is a stigma both to his college professors and to his fellows-students, and that stigma is keenly felt in Bengal. It is well known that the police have lists of suspected persons, several of whom are students in University Colleges. These lists, as far as I am aware, are unknown to the authorities of the institutions concerned, but I venture to think that did a suitable *milieu* exist, the teachers in colleges could save the police much trouble. That *milieu* is, in a word, an efficient collegiate residential system.

In this connexion I cannot restrain myself from reinforcing my statements by a quotation from a speech of

Sir Thomas Raleigh, delivered at the Congress of Universities in 1912. Speaking of Indian Universities Sir Thomas said :—

“The greatest force on which we can rely to raise and maintain the moral standard of our colleges is personal influence. Wherever our acts and regulations are working well in India, it is because the system is humanized by the influence of teachers, Indians and Englishmen (for both have a hand in the work) who not only meet their students in the classroom, but live with them and take an interest in them, man by man, and know how to command the confidence and respect of young men, so that in years of living together they impress upon their pupils their own qualities of industry and virtue. The great need of India is more of such men, not more acts and regulations. . . .

“My second point is the importance of hostels, and here I am glad to know I am on ground common to all connected with Universities in India. Long ago I remember some hardened votaries of the examination system, who rather resented my polite enquiries into the habits of their students, where they lived, and so on. It was supposed the examinations afforded the one and all sufficient test of merit. My long experience as an examiner had not prepared me entirely to accept that view of the case. A great deal depends on where the men live and how they live, and I hope it will never be supposed that in providing places of residence and calling them ‘hostels’ we have done the whole of our duty . . . As time goes on and our resources improve I hope a genuinely collegiate character will be given to college life in India. One knows of the difficulties in the way but so long as you have men spending their lives apart, meeting only in the classroom and nowhere else, so long you will fail to have complete understanding as between teacher and taught.”

I mentioned above that the attached mess system has within it the germs of an efficient residential system. While I agree that the hostel specially built as such is the preferable institution, at the same time I cannot see any possibility of anything like an efficient system of hostels being established within a reasonable period in the future. The backbone of the hostel system is the liberality of the Government of India, and the Government of India

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cannot possibly give even in a few years sufficient money to build hostels sufficient for all the Calcutta colleges. The provision of one hostel of even moderate size is a very costly thing in Calcutta, and provision of a big number of them could only be done by giving to education more than its due share of the public revenues. Further, it is manifestly unjust to burden one generation by making it pay for institutions which will benefit chiefly generations to come. Hence it is more economic to spread the expenditure over a considerable period of years, and this may be done, it seems to me, by utilizing in the proper way the present system of attached messes.

At present the attached messes are in a stationary position because Government gives a fixed grant, fixed for a period of years, to cover deficits in rent. The prophecy of the University that this policy would mean an increase in the undesirable unattached messes and nondescript residences has been fulfilled. Year by year the unattached messes are increasing more rapidly than the attached. Were Government to guarantee a fixed proportion of rent per house occupied, the question would soon solve itself. No proportion can be fixed for individual cases, but an average proportion, reckoned on the present basis, could be worked out very simply. This would make it possible to abolish the unattached messes *in toto*, and in time to render the collegiate residential idea a realized fact. Not only so, but a Government guarantee is a powerful stimulus, and there are landlords in Calcutta who would readily build messes according to specifications set by either the University or Government. Mess-owning is a not unprofitable type of house proprietorship, for the rents given are usually very liberal, largely in view of the fact that wear and tear are more marked in the case of students than in that of private families occupying a house. I have actually seen an instance of a house built in Calcutta by a speculator in the hope that it would be hired as a students' mess. There are seeds of important developments in

*this ; in fact, in my opinion it points to a more speedy solution of the problem of students' residence than has been usually thought possible. But the seed must be encouraged if it is to be of any use.

Of course, the continuance of attached messes implies the necessity of vigorous control. Badly controlled messes have been the bane of the police in Bengal. The recent report of Mr. Levinge's District Administration Committee shows in no uncertain way how poisonous to the life of the community bad messes can be. Not only is vigorous control necessary, but a more thorough general organization is imperative. I say "general organization" because I do not wish to cast any slur on the present organization, which, all circumstances considered, is very good. But there are other things in the general University scheme of things which militate against good working in the residential system. The greatest difficulty at present is the timing of the examinations. The colleges in Calcutta open early in July, and often the results of the examinations on which admission to colleges depend are declared only a week or two before the opening. Considering the number of students to be dealt with and the centrifugal forces of Calcutta no one can expect even the most efficient organizer to house the students satisfactorily. Whereas every student should know his college and his rooms at least six weeks before the opening of term, at present there is a confused rush on the colleges at the very last moment. Students apply for this or that college indiscriminately, trusting to be admitted to at least one. If they are lucky enough to be admitted to more than one, they select the college with the better reputation. Much of this higgling is done after the actual beginning of term, and under such conditions no College Principal, and no Inspector of Messes, can know for whom to provide. The examinations nominally seem early enough ; but in practice the results cannot be declared till about two months after the examinations. The annual

' increase of candidates will make matters worse instead of better unless the examinations, from the Matriculation to the B.A., are shifted to a date *at least* a month previous to the prevailing one. This, coupled with a rule forcing every student to be admitted to his college at least a month before the beginning of term and mulcting him for transferring his name to another college in the meantime, is a perfectly simple remedy for a somewhat desperate disease.

As educative agencies hostels at present are far in advance of the messes. Many of the hostels, indeed, are as highly developed on the social side as similar residential institutions in the West. The messes have not the same opportunities for development largely owing to their cramped space. Hostels have usually their common rooms and libraries and these are the centres of many societies and clubs. Often the subdivisions of a hostel (the wards) have their own organizations in debating clubs and literary societies, and most hostels conduct a magazine, although it is usually a manuscript one. There is a considerable public spirit in the hostels, and as far as I have been able to judge there exists a very healthy public opinion, the type of which may be instanced by the boast (which, unhappily, is no longer justified) of one of the biggest hostels in Calcutta that no member of it had never been in trouble with the police. It is unfortunately an impossibility to give hostels of the stereotyped kind to all Calcutta colleges sufficient for their needs, but the germs of healthy common life, which have been so fruitful in the hostels already existing, should be given an opportunity to develop in the second best institutions, the attached messes.

The best elements of Western collegiate life are making themselves evident in Bengal where environment is favourable, but there are more contrasts than likenesses between the Indian and the Western student's life. In students' residences here to each student is allotted a "seat," which seat is usually seat, bed and study all in one.

In some of the newer buildings one student is given one room, but as a rule there are three or more students per room. The University prescribes for messes a minimum of cubic space per student, and there is no limit to the number who may live in one room provided that minimum is observed. I visited recently well over a hundred students' residences in Calcutta and the *mofussal*, but in only one or two cases did I see any approach to the recognized accommodation of the West, a study *plus* a bedroom. Doubtless students would prefer the Western custom, but as yet it is regarded as an unrealizable luxury. Considering that students do all their studying in their own rooms, one must give all the more credit to the students who do well in their examinations. I question if English students working under similar conditions would ever pass an examination at all !

Another contrast is the lack of any—even the smallest—library in the case of the average student here. Students in England have as a rule the nucleus of quite a respectable private library before they leave college. In India, or at least Bengal, students are too poor to buy books to any extent. A bare minimum of prescribed text-books has to suffice, and even these are sometimes provided by college libraries. Nevertheless the bliss of the ignorance of better things seems to reign among Bengalee students, for on none of the above two points does one ever hear complaints.

But a more startling—and more vital—contrast between the Eastern and Western systems of University education is the contrast of expense. Judged by Western standards, University education in India is notoriously cheap. Students in Calcutta, which is the dearest centre in Bengal, living in a mess or hostel and paying college fees at the ordinary rate, may live at a monthly expense of anything from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 a month. In fact, it is possible for students living in cheap unattached messes and attending colleges with a monthly fee of Rs. 6 a month to have

a full course of college education on Rs. 20 per month. Even taking Rs. 30 as the minimum, a student may be a B.A. or M.A. with an expenditure of £2 to £3 a month. Taking the working year at seven or eight months, the annual expenses for fees and living would be some £14 or £21. Of course most Calcutta students spend far more than this, but the fact remains that a University education is procurable for that expenditure. At the same time the colleges have to be properly equipped and staffed, and the various agencies in the organization of education remunerated. It is here that Government steps in. Perhaps in no country in the world at any period in history have greater relative demands been made upon Government for education than in India. Nor has any Government been so responsive. The idea of Government subsidy which permeates the whole University scheme of things in India has led many thinking men to consider whether in this extensive subsidy of University education there is not economic danger. Education indeed is a factor of production of the first importance, but in India many other urgent factors are to be considered; and while one must always insist on the supreme importance of primary and secondary education, it is difficult to sympathize with wholesale Government expenditure on University education. University education in the West depends largely on private sources, but in India Government is looked on as responsible alike for University, secondary and primary education. State elementary education is a recognized axiom in all modern governments, but few modern governments recognize an obligation to help Universities till the elementary conditions of University education are secured. These conditions are, in a word, good primary and secondary schools. *When* these conditions are secured, *then* the more Government can spend on the spread of higher education the better will it be for the country. But to hesitate as to which balance the gold is to be thrown into means dissemination of

public forces with consequent lack of concentration and loss of efficiency."

This same idea of subsidy pervades the University residential system. It might very fairly be argued that a student should be able to pay for a certain type of life as well as for college teaching. In Oxford and Cambridge—or in fact Western Universities generally—no questions* are asked on this point; it is a sheer necessity. But in India there is a constant tendency to whittle at logical principles. If the University regulations lay down that a student must pay fees for lectures and if it lays down that he must live in a certain type of house, then it surely can insist on his paying at least enough for his board and lodging to ensure no loss to either University or Government. The University regulations are virtually the agreement or contract of the University with the student, and it should not be difficult for either party to abide by them. But the plea of the "exceptional case" has proved too strong. Poverty *as such* has been the cause of many a liberation from the ordinary responsibilities of college education. Poverty is a sound plea for free *elementary* education, but the only claim that poverty can put forward in University education is that poverty *with ability* should be subsidized. No one can object to a clever but poor student being subsidized, but let that subsidy be not a Government dole but a private foundation. Compassion for a poor but dull student, taking the form of encouraging him by remission of fees and expenses of living to go on for a degree which he cannot take, is a refined form of cruelty, and a clear form of social wastage. If *all* free-studentships and *all* free seats were abolished and only scholarships given on the ground of ability *plus* poverty, then at least one canker of our modern system would be removed. In many cases there might seem to be hardship, but the rule is a salutary one, and once made *it* would have to be observed. Beyond that, *de minimis non curat lex*.

The report of the recent District Administration Committee speaks in similar terms. Dealing with the management of schools by school committees, the Committee says:—

“ We consider that existing evils cannot be remedied by mere grants of money. The improvement of even the more prominent private schools by such means must necessarily be slow and liable to be impeded by differences with committees and financial exigencies. Excessive expenditure too in this direction is open to criticism of the kind made by a gentleman who has done excellent service in the cause of Indian education. He has just declined to work longer on the managing committee of a college which is about to be taken over by Government. ‘I feel strongly,’ he told us, ‘that lakhs of Government money should be diverted from higher education to the education of the poor. Millions are living with their minds entirely uncultivated. I cannot bear to see lakhs of money being poured out on persons who can perfectly well afford to pay for their own education.’ ”

To many these will seem hard words, which they are, for this reason. The notion of subsidy has become crystallized in the University educational system. Why it should be so is not clear, for the demand for English education at the lower stages had led to heavy expenditure by private individuals in Bengal. The problem in the earlier stages is not to extract the money but to guide it into proper channels (*vide* the recent Administration Report of Mr. Levinge’s Committee). But the collateral help of Government has become a vested interest in University education. Reasonable expectations cannot easily be discounted in economic issues, and to withdraw Government help in most cases would be tantamount to imposing an unjust tax. Hence Government will have to continue what it has begun—to subsidize University colleges, students’ residences, to give scholarships and bear the burden of free scholarships, where the burden should be borne by parents, if not by them, alleviated by the gifts of public spirited citizens of the type of the late Sir Tarak Nath Palit or Dr. Rash Behari Ghose.

Of course, it may seem to be in the interest of Government to contribute what may be an undue share of the public revenues to such objects as housing. Sound housing conditions will mean good citizens: quite true, but the University should enforce sound housing *whether Government subsidizes or not*. University education however, it may be said, is like an infant industry; it must grow up under the ægis of a protective tariff. Granted this to be so, it cannot be held to be true of Calcutta University; in fact, the argument is all the other way about, for the weakness of the infant industry tariff argument is amply demonstrated by the fact that Government subsidies cannot be withdrawn.

The above sketchy description of the Calcutta residential scheme leads to so many reflections that I can scarcely do more than mention them. Perhaps one of the most important points to be emphasized is the need of adequate superintendence. The chief desideratum in this respect is to have a proper type of superintendent. At present many of the superintendents of attached messes are members, not of college teaching staffs, but of the clerical staff. Obviously if a superintendent is to be any use whatsoever he must be more than a mere clerk. He must be able to appreciate students' difficulties and to help them. Not that I advocate tutorial assistance in hostels or messes. Such assistance, if needed, the students should procure for themselves. Western experts, although not agreed on this point, generally favour the view that tutorial superintendence is not to be encouraged. A synopsis of the ideas of the West I quoted in the words of Professor Childs of Reading University College in my previous article. Among other things, he insisted on the inadvisability of making halls of residence centres of teaching. What is really required is a moral superintendence, and the present system of pay tends to militate against this. The various functions of true superintendence are the accompaniment of a high type

of moral disposition, and such a disposition cannot be bought for money. No superintendent should be forced to be a superintendent either by his superior officers or by the baser part of his own self to which money appeals. The best type of superintendent, as I have already noted, is the Christian missionary superintendent, and (I interpret *missionary* in its widest meaning) every possible means should be adopted to cultivate that type. Men who feel the call to do such work should be given a chance to do so by residing in close proximity to the students. The chief means—I have already mentioned it—is to provide suitable quarters in the institutions where the students live.

It may be pointed out that it is easy to over-emphasize superintendence. That may be so. Superintendence in itself will not make a man: but it can go a long way to help. A good superintendent can by precept and example cultivate good moral dispositions in his wards. I have frequently heard it said that Oxford and Cambridge which produce such fine types of manhood have a more rigorous system of superintendence than anywhere else in the world. The Oxford and Cambridge system, however, is an honoured custom, not an absolute necessity. The hereditary influences and environment generally of the Oxford and Cambridge student are not different from those of the Scotch University student—who is the most free in the world—or the student of the new English Universities who are also, relatively to Oxford and Cambridge students, very free. It depends entirely on the type of earlier education and on the traditions of the students whether they require superintendence or not. The hardy Scot with centuries of free life behind him hates the idea of superintendence, and the fact that the question has never been a very burning one in Scotland shows its importance. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, indeed, when Rector of St. Andrew's University, urged that the Scottish Universities should pay more attention to the residence of students, but he was not asking for residence as a

disciplinary measure, but because "it is by bearing their part in a vigorous, spirited, responsible comradeship and community that a man or woman undergoes that training in the art of living and the conduct of life which is the best possible preparation for the sterner exigencies which lie before students as soon as they pass through the portals of the Universities to the greater world beyond." The school education of the West prepares the youths of the Universities for self-reliance. The same is not true of India. Considerations of earlier education—for schools have not yet reached their highest perfection in Bengal—and of a general political kind make it essential that supervision should be exercised here. These considerations I cannot enter into here—I refer the reader once more for information to the report of Mr. Levinge's District Administration Committee recently published. Not only so, but a *laissez faire* policy in Bengal has proved the fatuity of non-interference. In the earlier days of University education the conditions of overcrowding and the moral surroundings of students were disastrous to both body and mind. The desire for a degree smothered even the instinct for self-preservation. Not only did mind and body suffer; so also did morals. Even so recently as 1904 Mr. Charles Russell of the Indian Educational Service, in a report on masses, reported (on information supplied by Indian educationists) that some students were living in brothels. Experience has amply demonstrated the need for supervision and now it has become an integral part of local residential institutions. The improvement—not the existence—of superintendence is the difficulty.

One of the clearest conclusions drawn from a study of the housing conditions prevailing within the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta is that an affiliating-federal University of the London type is weak and wasteful. Even the wider federalism, of government, is open to the same criticism. It is very difficult to delimit the

powers and functions in a federal system. The interminable wrangling which has resulted in volumes of reports and articles in the case of London University shows how it is impossible even in a highly educated community to evolve a satisfactory system. There is constant friction between central and local authorities, and friction inevitably means loss of power. Overlapping of powers, which is also characteristic of a federal system, means wastage of money and effort. These things in themselves, as shown by the experience of many Universities, are enough to make founders of Universities beware of the London model. When, however, the residential point of view is considered, the case against that type is all the stronger. The best residential life exists in Universities where the colleges have a separate distinguishable existence, and where no friction exists between the colleges and the University. This friction is at a maximum in Calcutta, just as it is at a minimum in Oxford and Cambridge. The Colleges and University in Calcutta are each struggling for supremacy, with the result that neither branch is being developed as it should be. The best experience plainly dictates that the colleges should be properly developed, from both the intellectual and social standpoints. To use Spencerian language, what is required in Bengal college life is individuation, and not multiplicity. Hitherto the doctrine of multiplicity has prevailed at the expense of individuation. This topic is however outside my present purpose, but I merely state that from the point of view of housing, each college should have its own individuality or personality. That personality consists in a "unity in diversity ;" in other words, colleges should be as multiple in their activities as possible. For the end of sound social life there should be diversity of interests. Hence it is far better policy to develop what colleges do exist than to found or affiliate any upstart institution. This suggests a difficulty that may arise at Dacca. At present there are several important colleges at Dacca—colleges

with a secure *kudos*—and the question naturally arises, why not give one, or all of these colleges in union, the power of granting degrees provided they have sufficient staff? To go on the basis of the known seems to be sound policy in this case. A University or college *grows*, is not *made*. This idea seems to be the basis of a tenet of the Government of India, for in their historic declaration of policy of February 1913 it is said :—

“ It may be possible hereafter to sanction the conversion into local teaching Universities, with power to confer degrees upon their own students of those colleges which have shown the capacity to attract students from a distance and have attained the requisite standard of efficiency.”

Another conclusion—also a very obvious one—to be drawn from our study is the need for developing *mofussal* colleges. It is almost inconceivable how so many colleges should have grown up in Calcutta. Not only is the *mofussal* healthier for body and mind but it is cheaper,—a consideration not unheeded by local students. Capital expenditure will produce far more productive results in the *mofussal*. The ten lakhs recently promised by Lord Hardinge if spent in Calcutta will buy a few bighas of land and house a few score of students. In the *mofussal* it could work wonders. At the same time this suggests a very real present difficulty. Good hostels attract students to Calcutta ; the more the hostels the bigger the crowds of students that will come to Calcutta. A limit must be set down. If numbers go on multiplying as they are, the grants of the Government of India will be rendered relatively useless. Once the housing of the present colleges is completed, then there may be a sort of *Quartier Latin*, amenable to discipline. But as a correlative there must be the development of the *mofussal* colleges, else the usual overcrowding will result in Calcutta. The *mofussal* housing problem is a simple one. At present, the most advanced centre in this respect is Dacca, which has a local government of its own in the Dacca City Educational Council. This Council, though

nominally a local branch of the Students' Residence Committee of the University, is really autonomous. It corresponds directly with Government and distributes its own grants irrespective of the University. It controls the unattached hostels and messes of Dacca, but as the Dacca University is to make residence purely collegiate, the need for the Council (for University work at least) will cease. The system, however, is an excellent working one which other centres in the *mofussal* would do well to copy.

I cannot do more than mention one or two other burning questions connected with students' housing, for I have far exceeded my limits of space already. One is the Matriculation standard, both in age and intellectual attainment. The housing problem would be rendered simpler in several ways by a tightening of the reins, for, in the first place, immature boys would be excluded and, secondly, the numbers would be considerably reduced.

The Matriculation figures for the last six years speak for themselves :—

Year.	No. of Candidates.	No. of Passes.
1910	... 3,596	... 2,833
1911	... 6,174	.. 4,341
1912	... 8,862	... 5,699
1913	... 9,477	... 6,937
1914	... 11,428	... 6,846
1915	... 12,617	... .....

The substitution of a school-leaving examination, again, might erect a separate standard which might be at least as good as the present I. A. examination and in this way detract numbers of boys from the colleges. Further, the recent reduction of the age limit may make it necessary to establish a sort of Super-High School, the real entrance examination being the present I. A. examination.

I fear I have taken more than my due share of space in this *Review* to expound the principles and practice of students' housing. Disproportionate though the space may

appear to be, I venture to think that the importance of the subject has often been dimmed by other, and less vital, considerations. Big grants from Government or from private persons for purely intellectual education are laudable enough, if the intellectual element is accompanied by other essential elements. "Education," said Sir Richard Jebb, "consists in organizing the resources of the human being." The intellectual side of man is not the sum of man's resources. To vary the Aristotelian phraseology, we may say that the virtue of the good intellect should be combined with the virtue of the good citizen. The aim of education is to produce a responsible moral self, to cultivate that type of individual that can choose good ends and make them actual. Man everywhere is by nature a "social animal," and education has to extract his potentialities and guide them in the proper direction. For the moulding of the self, for the making of a "full man," I consider that sound collegiate life will do much. Of course, hostels in themselves cannot achieve the end of education, but they are an element of paramount importance, for they furnish the *conditions* of the good life. Therefore, in leaving this subject in the meantime, one cannot but express the hope that our local effort will be diverted to this purpose in the near future. Self-reliance, self-esteem, self-government—all these terms are mere vapour, unless the emphasis is laid on the *self*, and all efforts at social improvement are mere waste of energy unless they are at the same time efforts to make good selves.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

BYWAYS IN BOOKLAND.—By Walter A. Mursell.
(London : Guy and Hancock.)

This is a volume by a son of the celebrated Arthur Mursell, and the son has evidently inherited something of the father's individuality with more modern characteristics of his own. Mr. Mursell has hitherto been known through one or two volumes of sermons preached in the beautiful Coats' Memorial Church of Paisley, of which he is the distinguished minister ; but this, his first considerable literary venture, will give him a well-deserved place in the world of letters as well. The title of the volume *Byways in Bookland* is a very attractive one. It calls up visions of delightful rambles in sequestered paths, and not necessarily the paths of least importance, for it is often the sequestered paths that brings the richest revelation of beauty. And the volume fulfils the promise of its title. Mr. Mursell leads us unto walks of literature that provide a perpetual feast for the eye and heart. The opening chapters are autobiographical, describing the birth of the book-lover. There is a description of an old bookshop in Marylebone, which has passages in it worthy of Charles Lamb. The autobiographical element may be said to run through the volume lending it a peculiar attractiveness. There is nothing pedantic or professional in Mr. Mursell's treatment of his authors. They are not skeletons to be laid on the literary dissecting-table. They are the friends of his own bosom, and something of the secret of their friendship he conveys to us in these pages. The writers with whom he deals are classified in chapters, whose titles are equally suggestive with that of the volume itself—*In Green Pastures, By Still Waters, In the Valley of the Shadow*, etc. The author, who is half-a-Cornish man, has an intense sympathy with Nature, and Wordsworth, George Borrow and Richard Jefferies are acknowledged as masters. But his range of interest extends to sententious and creative literature also. Interesting studies are offered of Charles Lamb, Mark Rutherford, Washington Irving, Wilkie Collins, Henry Seton Merriman and others. The volume

justifies the employment of the word *Byway* in the more ordinary sense in calling attention to several out-of-the-way products of the modern pen, such as *Pirated Poems* and the *Comments of Bagshot*, for their introduction to which every reader will be grateful. Dickens and Robert Louis Stevenson, who are evidently particular heroes of the author, have separate chapters devoted to them. The former is introduced as the Greatheart of Bookland, the latter as the Peter Pan of Bookland. To Stevenson a beautiful and touching homage is offered. Mr. Mursell has given us a volume with which many pleasant and fruitful half-hours may be spent.

J. M.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MAHARSHI
DEVENDRANATH TAGORE.—Macmillan and
Co., Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.

This book is a translation from the Bengali by Satyendra-nath Tagore and has an introduction by Evelyn Underhill and an introductory chapter by the translator. The translator's introduction completes in outline the life history of which the autobiography forms only a part, and gives also an interesting account of the way in which the Brahmo Samaj developed and divided when the eager and earnest spirit of Keshab Chunder Sen entered its ranks and began to share with the Maharshi its leadership. In the autobiography itself we have an interesting picture of the Brahmo Samaj in its earliest days when it was just passing from a personal association into an organized community under the guidance of Devendranath Tagore and the group which he gathered round him.

But it is as an autobiography that the book has to be judged, and in this respect we cannot but confess to a certain feeling of disappointment. It may be that Miss Underhill's introduction leads us to expect too much, for one who is to stand alongside of Madame Guyon, St. Teresa and the other great Christian mystics must indeed stand very high. No one, it is certain, can read these outpourings of the Maharshi's soul without feeling that here is a man who had reached a remarkable level of spiritual experience and lived in such a consciousness of God's presence and such intimate communion with Him as few are able to realize; but at the same time his experiences do not impress us in the same way as do, for

example, those of Brother Lawrence. They do not seem to contain anything like the same warmth of feeling, and the idea of God which they suggest is vague and abstract.

The Maharshi was indeed no ordinary man. He was a man of outstanding depth and nobility of character, but still we fail to understand why Miss Underhill should have placed him alongside of St. Francis and St. Anthony. It was certainly good that he gave up most of the property which he might legally have claimed for himself in order that he might meet the debts which had been left by his father, but extravagant praise of this act should be restrained when one reads further that he retained for himself and his brothers a subsistence allowance of £1,600 per annum, and was able all his life to live and travel about in comfort, if not in luxury. And, although we do it unwillingly, we cannot but confess to a feeling of disappointment that as Devendranath went home from the meeting with the creditors he should have remarked to his brother Girindra "that they had performed a Vishnajit Yajna (*i.e.*, a ceremony of public renunciation of all worldly goods) by giving away everything they possessed." It is not necessary to maintain that the highest level of the religious life always implies the sacrifice of all earthly possessions, but that seems to be the view both of the writers of these introductions and of the subject of the autobiography himself. This seems to us unfortunate. We should have admired the Maharshi still more if his views on wealth had been somehow different.

Further, in Chapter XIII, where we have an account of his attitude towards the Christian missionaries, we find it difficult to recognize the attitude of a disinterested seeker after truth. The sole ground of opposition which he gives is that Indians were becoming Christians. "At this I felt greatly indignant. They are making Christians even of our zenana ladies. Wait a bit, I am going to put a stop to this." The result was the foundation of a Brahmo School, and while one cannot but rejoice in this result, in a saint one might legitimately have expected the motive to be a higher one.

With what may be called the great conviction of the Maharshi's life we can cordially agree. By this we mean his belief that the ultimate basis for Brahmoism, as for every other religion, "lies in the pure heart filled with the light of intuitive knowledge." In his rejection of the literal authority of the Vedas and the Upanishads alike, and in the spiritual struggle which led up to the rejection we

recognize the action of a soul which had no need for any external authority, but was ready to follow the inner light all the way ; but again we find it strange that the translator should allow himself to quote with apparent approval such a saying as that of the Rev. Pratap Chunder Mozumdar that "To the most strait-laced evangelical the Protestant Bible had no greater authority and inspiration than the Upanishads had for Maharshi Devendranath." Logically, if one may follow the autobiography rather than the translator, the Upanishads should have had no more authority for the Maharshi than the writings of any religious man, and whatever may be said in favour of this as the true view of religious authority, it is far from being the position of the strait-laced evangelical.

We have no wish to convey the impression that the autobiography is not a remarkable one. In spite of the points of criticism on which we have dwelt, we cannot but feel a reverent awe in the presence of one to whom God was so obviously very near, and we cannot but admire the seriousness of purpose which ran throughout his life, and the courage with which he maintained his convictions and refused to bow the knee to Baal. But most of all we sympathize with the conviction which came to him when he saw the pure waters of a mountain river rushing down from the mountains to be soiled with the dirt of the plains. "Give up thy pride," was the solemn command of the Guide within him, "and be lowly like this river. The truth thou hast gained, the devotion and trustfulness that thou hast learned here ; go and make them known to the world." We rejoice that his spirit took the downward course and obeyed the voice, and can only regret that the autobiography does not carry us further into his life on the plains.

G. E.

SIR SUBRAMANIA AIYER, K.C.I.E., D.L.—By
S. M. Raja Ram Rao (Trichinopoly : Wednesday
Review Press. Ltd.)

This is a short biographical sketch of Sir Subramania Aiyer, the retired Judge of the Madras High Court, by S. M. Raja Ram Rao, the Editor, *Wednesday Review*. The Right Hon'ble Lord Ampthill, who was Governor of Madras when Mr. Aiyer was at the zenith of his success, writes an appreciative foreword to this little book. The

author has succeeded in presenting in an interesting manner the life of this eminent Indian from the adverse beginnings and many disappointments to its most brilliant culmination. After a short account of his early career, two chapters are devoted to his admirable work as a non-official member of the Madras Legislative Council. As a successful lawyer, as a member of the Municipal Council, as an ardent congressman, as an enlightened social reformer, as the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, as a conscientious and sober judge, and last though not least, as a "sound politician and a safe public leader," his life has been shown to be full of noble examples.

The book is written in an easy and simple style and will be useful to all true lovers of India in these troublous times.

K. D. C.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE FEASTS
AND HOLIDAYS OF THE HINDUS AND
MUHAMMADANS. Edited by Dr. E. Denison
Ross. (Imperial Record Department.)

This is a most useful publication. There are many who are interested in the oft-recurring festivals of the people of India and who would be grateful for any trustworthy information. As to the meaning of the various acts of worship, Dr. Ross is justified in thinking that a small hand-book of this kind will "be of utility to all who are engaged in the administration of the country, and, perhaps, also of interest to a larger public outside." We are of opinion that the "perhaps" was unnecessary. The work is well done by two assistants of Dr. Ross—one Hindu and one Muhammadan. A clear and succinct account is given of each festival and there are many valuable notes. One great defect in the book is, however, that the festivals are arranged alphabetically and not chronologically. This will very greatly diminish its usefulness. Those for whom it is intended are often so ignorant (strange though it may appear) as not even to know the name of the festival in regard to which they require information. Even the most recent arrival has, however, sufficient intelligence to discover—even when Indian names are used—what month he is passing through. The changes of date from year

to year are not so great as to make it impossible to discover what festivals normally belong to a certain month, and the name of the month would, therefore, be a guide to the information. Against the alphabetical arrangement there is also the objection of the variety of spelling of Indian names. Who is to decide, *e.g.*, whether we are to search under "b" or under "v" for the account of certain of the festivals?

W. S. U.

"DECCAN NURSERY TALES ; OR, FAIRY TALES FROM THE SOUTH."—By C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., Z.C.S. Illustrations by M. V. Dhurandhar. Macmillan and Co., Ltd.

The author of "Deccan Nursery Tales" does not tell us his purpose in giving us these stories in English, but from the dedication to his "little son Dennis" one gathers that they are meant for children. It seems to me, however, that there is very much in these stories that requires explanation and also much that one would not care to bring before the minds of children. Commonplaces they are, alas! to the Indian child, but one feels thankful as one reads them for the healthy atmosphere of the British nursery in comparison with that of the Indian Zenana. To children of a larger growth, especially those who have enough of the child spirit to keep them in living touch with childhood, these stories will prove most fascinating; and those who are interested in Indian childhood and education—especially religious and moral education, will find these Deccan tales instructive and illuminating, and also full of a somewhat pathetic interest. The pictures, so full of living detail and so true and beautiful in colouring, add much to the charm and interest of the book.

G. R. S.

PERIODICALS.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—December 1914.

(London : John Murray.)

This issue is half the size and half the price of the usual quarterly and a note attached to the title-page gives the reason,—“For the purpose of providing our readers with

an earlier review of the various questions concerning the Great War, the January number is to be published in two parts, of which this is the first." There is plenty on the war and on rumours of war in consequence. All the articles in fact, save Sir Archibald Geikie's pleasant, descriptive essay on "Catullus at Home," which acts like the comic relief in a tragedy, are on questions relating to the Great War. *

The editors have done well in arranging to publish throughout the war, articles by experts, dealing with the progress and significance of events month by month. In this issue, the war in October and November is reviewed, Colonel W. P. Blood writing on the land campaign, Mr. Hurd on the work of our navy, and Mr. Seton Watson on the vigorous fighting in Serbia. Two excellent maps illustrating the campaigns in Poland and Serbia are attached, and especially interesting are some of the comments in the light of more recent developments.

Mr. G. F. Abbott writes with authority on the question of the attitude to be expected from the Muhammadan peoples towards the Allies. Germany's main desire in stirring up Turkey was undoubtedly to cause rebellion amongst the Muhammadan subjects of Russia, France and Britain, but, although there is certainly foundation for such a dream in the idealism and faith of the Arab world, strong motives prevent the aspiration from becoming active. "The average African and Asiatic has this fundamental quality in common with the average European—he knows on which side his bread is buttered." The Moslem subjects of France and Britain realize that they enjoy greater benefits under these Governments than they have ever done under Moslem rule. Another restraining cause is that their unity of creed has no corresponding unity in politics and culture. Besides this, there is the fact that the Arabs have no love for the Turks, whose arrogance and religious indifference are especially repugnant. The writer thinks the Allies have a great opportunity not only to benefit themselves by Turkey's insane participation in this conflict, but to free the Arab-speaking world from a yoke which they despise as well as hate.

In a vigorous article on "Recruiting and the Censorship," the War Office and the Admiralty are criticized for their want of enterprise in neglecting to publish accounts of valorous exploits on the part of individual regiments and battalions. That kind of thing would stimulate recruiting. A much more serious ground for complaint is

"the grave error of judgment involved in the concealment of the mishap which befell the navy off the coast of Ireland on 25th October" when *The Audacious*, a British warship, was lost. The Admiralty do not seem to have acknowledged the loss even yet, but the evidence that such a disaster took place is strong, and we think the *Quarterly Review* is not unjust in complaining.

The two unsigned articles on "The German Spirit" and "The Attitude of Italy" are fresh and enlightening.

A. C.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—January 1915.

The war bulks largely in this number. The leading place is given to an article by W. M. Crook on "The War: its Origins and Causes," in which the author traces back the real origin of the war to the annexation by Austria-Hungary of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and her fear of the resulting Serbian discontent both within her own borders and without. The historical progress of the negotiations is very clearly traced and the blame duly assigned. The article ends with an analysis of the various things which are at stake in the war: "These things are in the balance: the right of small states to exist; the principle of nationality; human liberty; the public law of Europe and of the world; the militarist or industrial organization of modern states; and Western civilization."

Professor J. Hope Moulton writes on "Christianity and Defensive War" and develops the thesis that although no express justification of war is to be found in the New Testament, it may nevertheless be defended as the lesser of two evils in an imperfect world. An article on "Nietzsche, Germany, and the War" sets the teaching of Nietzsche in the light of his personality and enables one to understand him better, if not to appreciate him any more. G. A. Johnstone contributes an interesting and scholarly article on "The Renaissance of Scholasticism," a widespread movement in the Roman Catholic Church which has for its object a synthesis between mediæval philosophy and modern science. Mr. Johnstone criticizes the movement and finds that although it professes to have freed itself from the bondage to dogma and the Church, it has not really been able to maintain such a freedom. "In

spite of its protestations to the contrary it remains, as in the middle ages, the handmaid of theology." This subject has a somewhat pathetic interest. The headquarters of the movement were in the University of Louvain which since the article was written has been destroyed by the Germans.

Amongst the more general articles there is a scholarly treatment of the importance of the "Recently Discovered Zadokite Fragments" by Professor J. W. Lightley and a discussion of the "Medical College Movement in China." The reviews of books are as usual numerous and comprehensive.

THE MONIST.—January 1913.

The place of honour in this number of the *Monist* is occupied by an article from the pen of Richard Garbe. He continues his previous discussion of the relationship between Indian and Christian thought in an estimation of the evidence for the work of St. Thomas in India. His general conclusion is that the Thomas legend is absolutely unhistorical and that the name "Thomas Christians," found in South India, is to be connected with a certain Thomas of Cana who flourished about the middle of the eighth century. Mr. Bertrand Russell clears up certain difficult points in his article on "Sensation and Imagination." Dr. K. C. Anderson attempts to find a *via media* between orthodox and liberal Christianity. He thinks that liberal Christianity, with its emphasis upon the historical Christ, is in danger of reducing Christ to the level of a mere teacher and of invalidating some of the most profound doctrines of Christianity. He has little patience with those who think that a thing cannot be true unless historical, and his own creed seems to be that the scripture narratives are symbolical rather than historical and are more valuable just for this very reason. His depreciation of the historical, however, is not very convincing. "Some Mediæval Conceptions of Magic" is an interesting historical disquisition by Mr. Lynn Thorndyke.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 281, JULY 1915.

AN APPEAL.

THE *Calcutta Review* was founded in 1844 and can therefore look back upon an honourable and long career of seventy-one years. In the advertisement of the first issue the following statement was made :—

“The object of this work is simply to bring together such useful information, and propagate such sound opinions relating to Indian affairs as will, it is hoped, conduce in some small measure, directly or indirectly, to the amelioration of the condition of the people. Our first desire is to awaken interest ; to induce a thirst after information ; then to supply that information ; and finally to teach the application of it to its most beneficial uses. The bane of this country is ignorance.”

During many years the *Calcutta Review* faithfully carried out its objects in the spirit of this statement of them, and with considerable success. The ablest pens in India were placed at its service. Men in high places honoured both themselves and the *Review* by utilizing such special knowledge as their position gave them, and might legitimately be disclosed, in the compilation of illuminating articles upon Indian political and social topics. In its early days the *Calcutta Review* occupied a unique position in Anglo-Indian literature. Its back files are to-day a mine of information upon the politics, social life and literature of early and mid-Victorian British

India. No Indian review can boast of such great traditions as those which were impressed upon the *Calcutta Review* by the pens of Sir John Kaye, Mr. H. G. Keene, Sir Henry Lawrence, Dr. Alexander Duff, Captain Marsh, Mr. Marshman, Dr. Thomas Smith, Meredith Townsend, Dr. George Smith and Sir Richard Temple.

The later history of the *Review* has been one of steady decline. The opening of the Suez Canal affected the *Review* profoundly, as it affected everything else in India, since it brought with it a steady importation of contemporary English journalism, which was not unnaturally often of a higher quality than that available in the pages of a struggling Indian review. Men of affairs became too busy to write, or, if they had leisure, were inclined to give the London market, where pecuniary rewards were higher, the first refusal of their literary wares. Other Indian reviews sprang into existence, too, whereby the *Calcutta Review* lost something of its unique position. These and other contributory causes deprived the *Calcutta Review* of the proud position which Sir John Kaye and other giants of its early days built up for it.

By 1910 it was a dying *Review*. Undignified, according to modern standards, in appearance, and not strikingly distinguished by the quality of its contents, it had already drifted into neglect, and seemed destined to sink slowly—or rather speedily—into oblivion. In that year it was acquired by its present owners, and a last attempt was made to galvanize—or rather nourish—it into vigorous life again. A special and attractive type was procured for it; internally and externally it became in appearance a *Review* as tastefully printed and got up as any in existence; at the same time an attempt was made, under the editorship of Dr. Urquhart, to make its contents worthy of the attention of all the English-speaking inhabitants, primarily of Calcutta, and more widely of all India.

That venture has not met with sufficient financial support to make it possible to continue it much longer. A review, especially in India where the bookstall purchaser is a negligible quantity, must live by its regular supporters, and perish in their absence. We cannot claim as yet that the *Calcutta Review* is doing for Indian literary life as much as it did in the days of Sir John Kaye ; it is impossible in the absence of adequate pecuniary support, to attempt or achieve very much ; first-rate journalism has its price, and this price can be paid, under present conditions, only if the local patriotism of English-speaking residents in Calcutta, and less specially in India as a whole, determine that a living organ of local public opinion of the leisurely review type is desirable. We are animated, in this appeal, partly by reasons of history and sentiment ; but we believe strongly that if the *Calcutta Review* did not exist, it would be necessary, on practical grounds, to create it or something similar, sooner or later, as an organ of reasoned local public opinion.

We believe that as an organ of Calcutta and provincial opinion, the *Calcutta Review*, or some other review working for the same ends, is indispensable. The vast schemes of social and educational reform now taking place in Calcutta and the province of Bengal, and the rapid changes which will undoubtedly ensue in our social and political outlook in India, as in the rest of the world, owing to the great war, are crying out, and will cry out increasingly, for accurate and well informed local criticism. If we drift, we should in Bengal know as a community whither we are drifting ; if we consciously modify the conditions of our life, we should, for the sake of our political and social help, call upon all who can speak with authority to calculate for us, or indicate clearly to us, the results of our deliberate changes. We must, as the advertisement of the first issue in 1844 put it, in the pages of this *Review* or in some other more successful successor, "call upon all men to declare what they know." The future of India depends largely upon

the formation of a sound public opinion, based on knowledge; the future of Calcutta and of the province of Bengal will be moulded profoundly by the extent to which the English-speaking population, both European and Indian, accurately *know*. The daily newspaper helps greatly in the task, whenever it does not obscure and hinder; but neither in England nor in India has it, for thinking men and women, as yet replaced the more leisurely, and therefore less hastily deduced, conclusion of the monthly or quarterly review.

We appeal, therefore, on historical, sentimental and practical grounds to the local patriotism and practical instincts of English-speaking men and women in Calcutta, in Bengal, and, less particularly, in India generally. We are, with inadequate support, attempting to perform a public function which we believe, in the interests of our political and social health, imperatively demands performance. Inadequate as our performance of that function is, as compared with the ideal which we set before ourselves, and which circumstances place at present beyond our reach, we believe that our traditions render the *Calcutta Review* better qualified, given adequate support, to perform that function, than any newly-born successor which might take its place, were the *Calcutta Review* to disappear from the literary stage of India. We ask, therefore, that all men and women of English speech in India will give to our distant past its just meed of honour; that they will consider sympathetically our effort in the present; and that they will help us to realize the possibilities and meet the need of the future. With the adequate help of those who speak and read our tongue in India we believe that we can serve our generation as usefully, if perhaps not as brilliantly, as the great men of the early days of the *Review*. Our traditions impose upon us the duty of service in the cause of knowledge in India. If we are destined to fail we shall modestly, and perhaps justly, ascribe our failure to our own demerits, but the future

historian of Anglo-Indian literature, with his wider vision, will have to debate within his pages the question whether the *Calcutta Review* died solely from senile decay, or whether its demise was not in part at least due to the rather unedifying fact that the literary and economic circumstances of early twentieth-century India were such that there was no scope for local literary effort of the type at which it aimed, and to which in some degree at any rate it actually attained.

THE DARDANELLES CAMPAIGN AND AFTER.

BY GEORGE PILCHER.

THE Dardanelles campaign is giving reality again to the old problem of the future of Constantinople which so much agitated the fathers of the present generation at the time of the Berlin Congress. The military defeat sustained by Russia in the Crimean War; the "peace with honour" secured by Lord Beaconsfield in 1878, which the English public interpreted as a species of diplomatic victory; and the development of the Suez Canal traffic, with its tendency to remove the trade route between East and West from the narrow crossing at Constantinople, seemed to the English public to settle the question. Russia had apparently acquiesced more or less in the limitations imposed on her development in the South-West; and the growth of strong and independent Balkan nationalities suggested that when a solution of the problem became necessary it would force itself on Europe in the form of some irresistible development in the life of one of these young States. The future of Constantinople had, indeed, come to be regarded almost as a problem of the politics of South-Eastern Europe and hence as one which was no longer of vital concern to Great Britain.

This relaxation of interest in the great question was the product of a number of factors. In large part it was due to that disease of democracy which takes the form of indifference to, and an almost sedulously cultivated ignorance of, external problems until they become so threatening as to compel attention. The danger to which European peace was subjected by German militarism and the aims and doctrines of the German military clique

were well known to the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain in Germany. Similarly the fact that one phase of this question of German militarist ambitions, and a serious one, was the increasing grip which Germany was obtaining over Turkey was known to the diplomatic representatives of Western Europe at the Porte. The German Emperor's visit to Jerusalem, the concession for the Bagdad Railway, the reorganization of the Turkish Army by von der Goltz Pasha were only steps towards the Germanization of Turkey. The declaration of war by the Porte last October was the natural climax of German policy in a country where, under the guise of democracy, all the power in the most highly centralized State in the world had been concentrated in the hands of a few unscrupulous politicians, few if any of whom are Moslems and none of whom realize the grandiose and far-reaching schemes which underlie Germany's interest in Turkey's welfare. While this process of drawing into the hands of German statesmen the strings of Turkish policy was in progress Englishmen slept—much as they were inclined to do in face of the steady growth of the German fleet and the German land forces. Their passivity was in part the defect of their qualities. British policy for long has itself been so straightforward and so clear of *arrière pensée* that Englishmen found it difficult to credit the hidden designs with which German policy was often reproached. British statesmen, and more particularly those of the class from which British diplomatists are drawn, found it difficult or impossible to counter German policy in the Near and Far East with like for like. That policy was so corrupt, particularly in Turkey; its methods were so "dirty," and the creatures it employed to further its ends, as has recently been seen in Egypt, were so abject, that men of the stamp of Sir Gerard Lowther and even of Lord Cromer found themselves left hopelessly behind. That, however, does not affect the results, one of which is the almost total absorption of

Turkey by Germany. The process is for military purposes complete and one of the more immediate problems of the present war is for the Allies to secure the undoing of this unholy bond.

The method chosen by the British and French Governments to effect this end has been a direct assault on one of the principal defences of Constantinople. Mr. Asquith has stated in his most solemn and deliberate manner that this assault was undertaken with objects at once political, strategical and economic. The political objects are obvious. They merge in the strategical since it is their aim, by raising the question of their Mediterranean interests, and particularly their interests on the coast of Asia Minor, to induce the Mediterranean Powers to take their part in the settlement of a conflict which, concerned as it is with the right of small nationalities to exist, must ultimately affect them as nearly as it does Great Britain. The morality—and indeed the necessity—of this policy was placed beyond all question by Turkey's entry into the war. She came into the conflict not because her interests were challenged or threatened at any point by the Allies but as a satellite of Germany. Her action, had it remained unchallenged by the Allied Powers, would have resulted in the ultimate incorporation of Turkey in Germany. Acquiescence in this development by Great Britain, a great Moslem Power—the greatest in the world—was impossible. It would have meant in effect the handing over to a Power which knows nothing of spiritual or political toleration or of the commercial "open door" the government of a race, the leadership of a faith and the control of a rich area with all of which Great Britain has had intimate connections for centuries past. The problem of the future of this territory and of these peoples intimately concerns all the countries of south-eastern Europe and the Dardanelles campaign, if it had done nothing else but compel them to realize the implications of the problem, would have

been justified. Strategically the Dardanelles campaign was designed (a) to relieve the military pressure which Turkish troops under German command might conceivably have exercised on Egypt ; and (b) by its effect on the political opinion of the Balkan States and Italy to create a third military front which the Austro-German armies would be compelled to defend. Mr. Asquith's last reason was the economic one. Obviously this was concerned with the Russian wheat harvest and, generally, the position of the Russian monetary exchange. With the closing of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus by the Turks and of the Sound by the Germans the main channels by which Russia's exports are placed on the European markets became closed. Since October Russia's only available ports have been Archangel and Vladivostok, both of them connected with Moscow by single lines of rail, both of them far distant from the main economic centres and both of them subject to the disadvantages of a white winter. For Russia the failure to dispose of her wheat harvest has involved serious economic and monetary difficulties. These have enhanced the price which Russia has been obliged to pay for imported munitions ; they have made necessary the opening of credits on her behalf by Great Britain and France ; and, furthermore, for Great Britain at least, the non-shipment of Russia's wheat surplus meant a temporary rise in the price of grain to nearly 70 shillings a quarter with a consequent increase in the cost of living and a reflex effect on the price of labour and indirectly also of munitions.

Reasons as weighty as these preclude the suggestion that the policy of a vigorous surprise attack by the combined navies on the Dardanelles was the policy of one man in the Cabinet of one of the Powers concerned. Whether the policy of a vigorous assault—at first purely naval and then both naval and military—on the Dardanelles alone was a wise one may be open to doubt. The probability is that it would only have been accounted—or

will only be accounted—wise in case of success. Certainly the surprise attack, such as Duckworth carried through in 1807, is the only form of attack on these Straits which has ever been known to succeed and it is not unlikely that Duckworth's success suggested the manoeuvre of November last. In 1807, however, the Straits were in a deplorable condition of neglect while on the present occasion they were known to have been improved recently to guard against the danger of an attack by Italy—a reconnaissance was actually made by the fleet of that Power—during the Libyan war. The important point, however, is that since the French fleet has co-operated with the British, the French Government has been privy to the policy both in its political and strategical aspects. The attack on the Dardanelles may have been a *pis aller* but such as it was the Allies were all thoroughly committed to it.

To grasp the nature of the strategical problem which faced the Allies once it had been decided to strike at Turkey it is necessary to realize the unique character of the defences of Constantinople. Situated though the city is at the very centre of the old world as known for practical purposes to the Middle Ages it is yet possible to render it all but impregnable without the aid of ships and with what to-day is reckoned a very small army. It is important, too, to notice that this fortress is not a fortress of the type Brialmont erected at Antwerp and Bucharest. At every point its forts, where they command the land approaches as well as where they command the narrows of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, are natural forts. The guns are mounted on the slopes and crests of hills which disappear range upon range behind one another. So perfect is their disposition for military purposes, that they might have been designed and aligned by a fortress engineer. They are, however, immensely loftier than any artificial barriers could ever be and the successive line upon line of possible positions is something which no State with the resources of Turkey could have

contemplated and which in any case no human workmen could ever have accomplished without the aid of nature.

Constantinople, as all the world knows, is built at the apex of the triangle which forms the eastern termination of the continent of Europe. The point of the triangle (which in actual fact is a stretch of coast sixteen miles long and generally high and rocky) abuts all but directly on to the coast of Asia. The point is, however, severed from the Asiatic shore by the rapid stream of the Bosphorus through which the waters of the Black Sea pour down into the Marmora and thence into the Mediterranean. If the Black Sea end of this narrow passage, which is never more than one and a half miles wide, be safely guarded by the land forts rigged on narrow ledges at the base of the cliffs and on the cliffs themselves, no naval menace can come to Constantinople from the Black Sea side. The Turkish coast of the Black Sea from the mouth of the Bosphorus to the commencement of Bulgarian territory offers hardly a single point where the landing of a large force would be feasible. The whole stretch is occupied by the Belgrade forest and the last spurs of the Balkan mountains—here called the Istranja Balkans. I have ridden through some sections of this coast territory, on one occasion under the escort of a police officer who had lived in the country from his youth. Owing to the lack of any correct map of the winding and tortuous tracks which answer for roads we lost our way incessantly. The country is throughout one of wild, broken and almost roadless hills. There is nothing on which an army could feed, as the rock is barely covered with soil, and no attempt has ever been made to cultivate this region. At a point some forty miles from Constantinople the rugged country gives place precipitately on the side of the Marmora to a green river valley some four miles broad and on a dead sea level. This gap in the chain of hills which exposes to view the advance of every assailant approaching Constantinople by land from the

direction of Europe has been utilized to the full by a succession of military engineers, one of the principal of whom was Baker Pasha. The chain of hills on the Constantinople side of the valley has been converted into the famous Chatalja lines. These, which run across the peninsula from north to south, are sixteen miles long. They form the bulwark of Constantinople's land approaches as do the forts of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles channels of her sea approaches from the east and west respectively. At the southern end the lines consist of entrenched positions on an exposed salient very similar to that presented by the English South Downs in Kent and Sussex. The Turkish gun emplacements are cloaked by the natural fall of the land and the land in rear of the crests is perfectly adapted for the purpose of travelling batteries. The occupants of the forts, however, have the enemy in view from the moment of his appearance on the opposite spurs. The opposing infantry are compelled to cross the intervening valley which has a river running down its centre and is often in a marshy condition throughout. The Germans have taught the Turks every contrivance for covering the glacis of these hills with wire netting, etc.; and the forts which, during the attack of the Bulgars in November 1912, were served with nearly a thousand guns, if both position artillery and quickfirers be included, have been brought up to date under Field Marshal von der Goltz's influence. It should be noted that the valley alluded to as running between the otherwise unbroken chain of hills which here covers the Constantinople peninsula extends only some eight miles across the triangle from the side of the Marmora. The northern end of the line is formed by some of the spurs of the rugged country which, as already remarked, is continuous along the Turkish coast of the Black Sea. It is probable that with the Germans in practical control of the Turkish army the defences of Constantinople on this side—that is to say, the land defences—are almost as strong as they have ever been

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in all the long roll of history since the three years' siege in the time of Severus described by Gibbon.

The defences of Constantinople are completed by the forts of the Dardanelles which command the water approaches from the west. Land approaches from this quarter there are none worth consideration except the main route through Lule Burgas which runs down the middle of the Constantinople peninsula from Adrianople. Even this is not a metalled road but a track through ploughed fields which, under the weight of transport wagons, reverts in rainy weather to its primitive state. From Gallipoli to Rodosto the country near the coast of the Marmora is covered by broken Balkan which renders road communications impossible. For these it is necessary to go inland and any army approaching by the main road is confronted with the chain of fortified hills in the Chatalja lines already described.

The sea approach from the west through the Dardanelles has now become so familiar that it is almost unnecessary to describe it. Important points to note are the fact that the outer forts of Sed-ul-Bahr (the "Key of the Sea") and Kum Kale ("Sand Castle") were in the modern scheme almost negligible. The real defences were and are on both sides of the Narrows along the four and a half mile stretch between the town of Dardanelles and Nagara. Even when Moltke went through in 1836 there were 580 guns on this stretch and it is probable that to-day there are a great many more. Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett has described the present day defences as seen and experienced from the control of a warship. If some of the old advantages of the forts which date from the days of sailing ships have disappeared it must be admitted that the compensations from the side of the defence are ample. Warships are no longer liable to be held in the Narrows by lack of wind or to be driven by the current almost from the mouths of the guns on one shore on to the mouths of the guns on the

other. Instead, however, they are confronted with other terrors which make their task even more difficult than in Duckworth's day. From the shore they are faced by high angle fire of invisible howitzers; by the shells of travelling (and also invisible) batteries of quickfirers, and by torpedo tubes placed at the base of the cliffs. By water they are menaced with floating mines brought down by the current which sets towards the Mediterranean and by the submarine peril. Here, as in the Chatalja lines and at the mouth of the Bosphorus, the configuration of the country is—for the present at least—the salvation of the Turks. The endless rolling hills, particularly of the Gallipoli shore, make concealment of gun emplacements child's play and the narrow strip of foreshore render landing operations difficult. Ship's guns have never been adapted for ant Fortress work. In this case they have not even artificial works as their target. They are confronted with lines of hills and to find the batteries—as distinct from the section of earth from which the report suggests that an enemy missile is propelled—is practically impossible. Even aeroplane direction can only give the approximate distance of a concealed position and the destruction of batteries or guns—the only thing which counts—is under these conditions a matter of surpassing difficulty and danger.

This review of Constantinople's defences will afford some idea of the problem which confronted Mr. Asquith and M. Viviani last October. An attack on Turkey for the combined reasons already noted was imperative. The problem was how to attack. The most promising strategical plan was certainly an attack from the land side—the side from which Constantinople has always fallen. It was from this direction that the city fell to Constantine; it fell thus to Mahomet the Conqueror who held Salonica and Adrianople before he marched against Constantinople; and it all but fell—and would have fallen had the enemy grasped the opportunity which lay open to them—to the Bulgars in

1912. Unfortunately the attitude to one another of the Balkan States precluded a land attack on the present occasion. The nation which should have been foremost in the campaign and whose territory lies on the threshold of Thrace refused, for reasons which seem sufficient to its own statesmen, to take part. Practically there was only one way open which could possibly have ended successfully, and that was an attack on the Dardanelles. Had Duckworth's success been repeated last November all would have been well—although the arrival of that Admiral's fleet off Constantinople without land supports on that occasion rendered his achievement useless. Even had the fleet gone through into the Marmora without land supports the moral effect of the victory would have been tremendous and that, more than anything else, was the aim of the attackers. Whatever may be the future of Constantinople it certainly will not fall to either Great Britain or France. What the Allies desired to achieve was a moral victory which would have political, and subsequently military, effects. There is not the slightest doubt that, with the Dardanelles pierced and a Franco-British fleet lying off the Golden Horn, Greek and Bulgarian, and possibly Italian troops, would have been found participating at once in a contest which threatened to lead to the final dismemberment of the enemy against which the Balkan States have waged so many wars, effectual and ineffectual. Had Bulgar troops started on the road to Adrianople and Greek troops commenced to land at Smyrna and in the Gallipoli peninsula after the Allied fleet had passed through the Straits the end of Turkey would have been merely a matter of time for even she, amazing though her power of avoiding Nemesis has seemed, could hardly have resisted this combined penetration of her most vital provinces.

Unfortunately all this was not to be. The first attack failed. The dreamed of triumph of ships' guns over those of forts kept even moderately up to date was seen to

be opposed to what must still be regarded as an undisputed axiom of the science of warfare. The necessity for an expeditionary force which could storm the glacis of the land forts and attack them in rear while the fleet poured its shells into the sea front of the positions was seen to be a necessity. Great Britain and France have found themselves committed to the slow and costly operation of reducing the Dardanelles forts glacis by glacis, stronghold by stronghold and gun by gun. The employment of a land force of the dimensions entailed by this task has led to criticism of the British Government on the ground that when the Germans are still threatening the path for Calais it is madness to divert the strength of eight or ten divisions to an ancillary zone. The method of employing the fleet in the Narrows is generally believed—though there is apparently little real evidence in support of the conviction—to have occasioned the dispute at the Admiralty which was made the pretext for the formation of a national Cabinet.

Into the merits and demerits of these controversies it is not the intention of the writer to enter. The materials on which to base a considered judgment are entirely lacking and it is probable that motives of international policy which are only dimly conceived if at all by the popular mind underlie the Allied Governments' resolution. It is, however, worth while to consider for a moment some of the more striking points in regard to the present campaign against Turkey. The first and most noticeable is the almost negligible share taken in the final assault on the Ottoman Empire by the great Power which more than any other undermined the basis of its polity by subverting the loyalty of its Macedonian *millet*s and by military aggression reduced its territorial extent and military and economic resources. From her very position Russia can take no part in the attack on the Dardanelles unless and until she has herself forced the passage of the Bosphorus. If the combined Franco-British fleet, aided by an expeditionary force, finds it difficult to break down the

Dardanelles defences it is difficult to believe that the Russian Black Sea squadron will damage the strength of the Bosphorus forts. The channel here is narrower, the current swifter and the power of concealing batteries is greater even than in the Narrows at Chanak. But if Russia cannot force the Bosphorus it is equally true that, failing the consent of Rumania and Bulgaria, she cannot participate in a land campaign against the Turkish capital. Russia's own work of liberation in the Balkans and Europe's suspicion of the purity of her motives in those regions when her liberating zeal was at its height have done their work so effectively that she is unable—owing to the interposition of the small States between her own and Turkey's land frontiers—to deliver an assault on that Byzantium which she has always been supposed to covet. That this is the case may—according to temperament—be placed to the credit either of the sincerity of the Russian people in their crusade against Turkey or to the brilliant success of the Disraelian policy. The interesting point at the present juncture is to determine whether Russia desires an inheritance which she can do nothing to secure and her possession of which the European Powers are certain to limit with encumbering sanctions and guarantees. The Russian people—if by people the *mujik* be understood—certainly dreams of recovering the Imperial city and replacing the cross on the cupola of St. Sofia's. Whether, however, the Russian higher bureaucracy desires a capital which has brought nothing but ill-luck and decadence to the Powers which have occupied it may be doubted. The fact that there is hardly a Russian other than diplomatists and seafaring men in Stambul, Pera or Galata need, historically, be no deterrent. When Constantine moved the Roman capital to Constantinople there was hardly a single Latin there. When Mahmud the Conqueror passed through the Golden Gate in Constantine's walls there was not a single Turk in the city. It is one of the singular characteristics of

Byzantium that it has hardly ever been its lot to have as its ruler a sovereign whose race has been that of the dominant factor in the city. To-day Stambul has its vast Moslem quarter round the mosque of Santa Sofia; it has its Greek quarter in the Phanar district; it has its Armenian quarter farther out towards the Seven Towers. Across the bridges Pera is a cosmopolitan quarter peopled by Levantines of all races and tongues and with a large French and English population. Galata yet again is a cosmos in itself. Taken together the whole is racially one of the most composite amalgams it is possible to conceive. The problems of its administration, particularly under the cast-iron Russian system would be very great. Nowhere in the world is liberty, in the sense of license and corruption, so complete as at Constantinople. Nowhere in the world is it qualified by a more penetrative and oppressive system of police spying and corruption. To set the whole in order and keep the various races at harmony with one another would tax a greater genius for that species of task than Russia has ever exhibited.

There is, however, a larger and more important sense in which Constantinople would always remain an alien city in Russian hands. By no possible adjustment of territory could Russia be provided with land communications with Constantinople. The Imperial City, which has always been a capital city, would for Russia be an over-sea colony even if she gained possession of the whole Southern Black Sea Coast. Is it conceivable that the capital of the Muscovite State, removed from Moscow to St. Petersburg as the result of Peter the Great's supreme effort is now again to be removed 1,500 miles to the south-east to a city containing hardly a single Russian and divided from the main territory of Russia by water? For it is to be noted that unless Constantinople is continued as a capital city, it will be hard to hold. The defences of the Chatalja lines and of the narrow seas demand the near presence of the supreme

military department of the Power which holds the city. Moreover, its unique position as a crossways of international communications and as a natural *entrepôt* for the trade of Asia Minor and the Black Sea must render it an incessant object of envy to a Power such as Germany which has imagination enough to see the possibility of restoring it by means of railway communications with the Persian Gulf and Teheran to more than its pristine position as the great caravanserai on the road from Europe to the East.

The implications for Russia contained in the occupation of Constantinople are thus enormous. It would mean the solving of problems of defence, of administration and of communications, the incidence of which it seems to the present writer, would far exceed any advantages attaching to the possession of the city. These would be mainly of an honorific nature. The religious sensibilities of Russia as the eldest daughter of the Eastern Church would be gratified and any sovereign might be proud to occupy the seat of the Eastern Emperors. All that is essential in the first of these ends, however, would just as well be attained by any *régime* that definitely restored Santa Sofia to the Eastern Church. What the religious conscience of Russia demands is that an end should be made of the Moslem desecration of the altars of the Christian temples in Stambul. So long as this is accomplished, whether it be by a Russian occupation, the internationalization of the city, or by a Bulgar or Greek occupation would not affect the result intrinsically. As far as the increase of Russia's prestige is concerned it may be doubted whether the occupation of Constantinople might not have deleterious effects in other directions which would far outweigh the mere extension of Russian sovereignty. The Russian Empire has already attained an enormous extent. The war with Japan has shown its rulers that an ice-free port may be sought too far from the centre of population and at too great political cost to achieve its real purpose. If that lesson be not sufficient, history

has other examples—one of them, the case of Charles XII of Sweden, closely connected with Russian history—of violent strain resulting in decline. Russia, it is known, would veto the occupation of Constantinople by one of the small Orthodox Balkan States. She placed pressure on King Ferdinand of Bulgaria in 1912 to induce him to refrain from attempting an entry of the city. She is reported—with what truth I cannot say—to have intimated recently in Athens that she could not view a Greek occupation of Constantinople with equanimity. All this, however, does not prove either that the Allies would consent to a Russian occupation, that Russia herself contemplates the occupation of the city, or that any real advantage to Russia would accrue from such a step. The real necessity for Russia if her people are to attain their fullest industrial and indeed social and political development is an economic one. Russia needs free and unrestricted access to the open sea and it is probable that her present experience, when the distress in Southern Russia must be considerable owing to the complete suspension of trade with Europe as a result of the closing of the Narrow Seas, has made her resolve that never again shall it be in the power of the State holding Constantinople to cut off her communications with the outer world. If the complete freedom of the Narrow Seas can be achieved by the neutralization of Constantinople and the dismantling or internationalization of the forts at the entrance to the Narrows it is difficult to see why Russia should desire to take over the task of governing a city, the difficulties attending which would be as great as those already outlined. No one with a knowledge of Byzantine and Turkish history would care to indulge in prophecies regarding the future of Constantinople. Its defences have not yet fallen and much water may flow through the Dardanelles before the city is at the disposition of the Powers. The Turks have the most extraordinary genius for baffling the prophets and their defence is

now stiffened and directed by German officers. The longer the struggle is maintained the stronger become the arguments against assigning the prize to a Power who has been precluded by circumstances from taking a part in it. Thus there is good reason for maintaining an open mind in regard to the future of the city and it is quite possible that the conference which finally regulates the affairs of Europe may come to a conclusion on the subject very far removed from the speculation most generally current to-day.

Whatever be the decision in regard to Constantinople it seems in any case that the Turk is destined at last to leave Europe. Many times he has baffled his foe. He has had many powerful enemies. The Russians have marched as far as San Stefano, an outer suburb of Constantinople, and have left a monument there to mark their "farthest East." The Bulgar guns have been heard in the city itself and had the Bulgars but realized the fact the city was at one time open to their advance. To-day, however, the Young Turks have roused against themselves the enemy of the State to whose powerful friendship has in great part been due the fact that Turkey "has been an unconscionable time a-dying." Never before has so categorical a statement as Mr. Asquith's at the Guildhall been made in regard to Turkey's future by so powerful a statesman as the English Prime Minister and, in view of the English character, it is almost a certainty that sooner or later the decision then announced will be carried into effect. Turkey-in-Europe, already restricted to the narrow peninsula of Thrace, will disappear. The problem of the Turkish inhabitants of Europe should not offer a serious problem. The Turk remains after 450 years in Europe the nomad he was when he arrived. The educated Ottoman has, indeed, never made any secret of his belief that as his people came from Asia so they will return to Asia. The simplicity of his chiflik and his wooden cottage with its bare walls and

its scarcity of furniture has always suggested that the Turk had in Europe no continuing city. During and after the last Balkan war the entire Turkish population of Thrace and Turkish Macedonia, impelled by a natural instinct, placed their belongings in bullock carts or on their own backs and set off down the country to the sea, there to be transported by their Government to Asia Minor. The sight of the population of an entire province in motion, the women clad in the flimsiest garments, with their faces in yashmaks, and their children on their backs, the moving crowd winding in a broad ribbon across the ploughed fields by day and camping out at night, suggested a Volkswanderung of the period of the movement of the Barbarians. As those Turkish country people departed to Asia in 1912 so probably will the bulk of the Moslem population depart from Stambul, now their only populous centre in Europe, once the destiny of European Turkey is seen by them to be decided. It is probable, indeed, that the process is already going on under the protection of the forts of the Narrows.

The main problem confronting the Powers after the fall of Constantinople will be the governance of certain districts of Asia Minor which are already the only true home of the Turk. The disclosure by M. Venizelos of the terms offered by the Powers to Greece shows that the Governments of the Allies contemplate nothing less than the wholesale partition of Asia Minor among the Christian Powers. Those who know the Turk will be disposed to question the wisdom of this policy even in the interests of the recipients of the divided territory. In Asia Minor as in Europe the Turk's power of assimilating alien races and religions has been and remains almost *nil*. Wherever he has settled he has generally kept his stock pure. This was as true in Macedonia as it is in Asia Minor. In at least two vilayets of Asia Minor, however, the problem of the future will be something quite other than the problem in Macedonia where the Turk—as compared with the

Christian population—was always in a minority. There the problem arose from the fact that while not assimilating the Christian populations and tolerating their collective religious organization, the Turk insisted on regarding himself as their superior and master and the Christian raiyats pre-eminently as tax-payers. While conferring on them none of the benefits of security and no civil amenities he none the less imposed taxation which was wastefully collected and depressed the main industry of the country. He was not, as is generally believed, intolerant of the raiyats' religious beliefs : he was too proud to worry himself about them. The root difficulty was oppressive taxation of the subject races and the fact that the governing race had nothing in common with and lived apart from the governed. In Asia Minor two vilayets are peopled predominantly by Turks. From Brussa to Konieh—the capital of the Seljuk Sultanate of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—the population is almost purely Turkish, the culture is Turkish and the religion of the people is the Mussulman faith. The old-fashioned Turkish gentleman, with his courtly manners, the hospitality which has made him famous the world over, and his instinct for good stories, may here be found to-day almost untouched by the main stream of European civilization which has gradually spread over the whole of the Balkan region except Albania. Whether the Turk in the old home which he has occupied continuously longer than any other tract on which he has pitched his nomad camp can be governed successfully by the infidels of Europe whom he despises is open to question. For the removal of the Greek-speaking coastal tracts from the baneful system—or lack of system—of government associated with the Turks there is everything to be said. For the curbing of the Kurd and the relief of the Armenian race which, whatever may be the root causes of the trouble, has of late years been mistrusted and, at intervals, cruelly maltreated by the Turk the case is even stronger. Similarly the Christian population of

the Levant is groaning for release and would hail British Government with enthusiasm. The Arab, too, has suffered cruelly from Turkish misgovernment. For no Christian race is the contempt of the Turkish race greater than that which he shows in his every gesture for the Arab or Indian Moslem. It would be an error to suppose that the non-Turkish Moslem races who have had close communion with the Turks, love the race from which the family of the Khalif is chosen.

When all this is admitted, however, there will still remain the problem of the true Turk who inhabits the region of Asia Minor to which allusion has been made. In that region the race exists in a fairly compact mass. The ideal solution seems to the writer to be the erection of a new Sultanate of Konieh for the House of Othman. The Khalifate could, in this case, remain in the present line and the difficult problem of providing a new head of the Moslem faith would be avoided. The Powers, and particularly Great Britain, have had now ample opportunity of testing the degree of attachment which exists between the non-Turkish Moslems and the Turkish Sultan as the Khalifa of their faith. That attachment is real and deep—real and deep enough to create trouble of the type created by the many Mahdis were the Turkish Imperial family to lose all its temporal possessions. It is, however, not deep enough, as has been seen, to over-ride the loyalty which the Moslem owes, in India for instance, to the British Raj. The small Sultanate would be no pivot of disloyalty among the Moslem subjects of other States. It would, on the other hand, be a guarantee against the dispossessed House of Othman forming a nucleus for serious religious unrest the world over. From the secular point of view a Sultanate such as that described would in time probably become as harmless as the Sultanate of Zanzibar. The real Turk has of late years become satiated with fighting; he has lost all his territorial ambitions and it is the belief of the writer that if he were allowed to

settle down in the home of his ancestors, with the narrow sea separating him from Europe, the last would be heard of the Turk as a great martial race. With the troublesome Balkan problem solved, the Turkish cause no longer existing as a pretext for scheming propaganda, and the Prussian military despotism curbed Europe might conceivably hope for a long period of recuperative peace. The probability, however, is that Asia Minor offers too rich a field for economic exploitation to permit of such a solution. Russia, France and Italy have already pegged out their railway claims and the great through highway to the Persian Gulf was under construction by Germany when the war began. A future of partition and economic exploitation, however much to be deprecated, will, it is to be feared, submerge claims based merely on ethnical principles.

GEORGE PILCHER.

A NATURALIST'S VIEW OF THE CHILKA LAKE.

BY N. ANNANDALE, D. Sc.

*(A Lecture delivered in the Indian Museum on 8th
January 1915.)*

THE popular lectures now delivered in the Indian Museum were instituted for educational purposes. I am no great believer in the kind of education that is derived merely from sitting out a series of popular lectures and looking at the pictures. In a cinematograph show I have seen an "educational" film in which the fact that salamanders are not fireproof was demonstrated by showing that one of these animals, if seized by a pair of forceps and placed on a red-hot gridiron, squirmed in a very unpleasant manner. In lantern demonstrations, as in cinematograph shows, it is the striking, and especially the grotesque, that appeals to the most intelligent audience, and the facts of real importance, which cannot always be demonstrated by pictures, are often left in the dark. There is, however, one direction in which I think it possible that our illustrated lectures may have real educational value, namely, that of explaining to intelligent people the claims of workers in the Museum to be included among those that work for the public good. Throughout the British Empire there is a popular tendency to regard the public servant whose work is scientific without being "practical" as an amiable crank who, by some strange dispensation of Providence, is permitted to follow his hobby at Government expense. Personally, I think that one of the main reasons of our national inferiority in scientific industries is that we do not fully realize the important fact that no great practical discovery in science

was ever made except as the result of long-continued research undertaken for its own sake. Practical scientific discoveries are the application of theoretical work, not new things in themselves. Practical discoveries cannot be made to order, if a solid foundation for them has not already been laid.

I therefore welcome the opportunity of laying before you the results of a piece of work undertaken last year by Mr. S. W. Kemp and myself. It had no practical bearing, except in so far as it may cast light indirectly on fishery problems, but I maintain that until we have a theoretical knowledge of the biology and distribution of aquatic animals, it is a ridiculous waste of public funds to attempt to investigate the many sanitary and economic problems directly or indirectly dependent upon them. A true theoretical knowledge must of course be based on investigation, just as practical discoveries must be based on theoretical knowledge: these are the three steps in the process.

Our work consisted of a detailed zoological survey of the Chilka Lake, with a less detailed investigation of such physical and geographical factors as play a part in the biological question involved.

I do not propose to give you an account of our adventures, for I pay you the compliment of assuming that you have come here for instruction and not for sensation. In truth we had no adventures; we went to the Chilka Lake by the Madras mail; we did not hunt the mermaid, as some of the Calcutta papers said that we proposed to do.

The Chilka Lake is a shallow lagoon on the east coast of India, some 40 miles long and about 10 miles broad. The greater part of its area lies within the boundaries of Orissa but the south-east end penetrates into Madras. The lake, as you will see from a glance at the map, is not a simple inlet of the sea, for it is connected with the Bay of Bengal by a very narrow mouth, which opens not

directly into the main area but into a narrow channel that runs parallel both to it and to the Bay for some miles. The physical conditions of life in the lake are rendered very peculiar by this fact, in a manner which I will describe shortly; but before I do so it will be as well to explain how this lagoon came into existence. Not so long ago, as geologists count time, there was an open sandy bay where the lake now is. At one end an effluent of the Mahanadi river-system poured in its waters, at the other a rocky island lay separated from the coast by a narrow channel. Owing possibly to some change in the currents of the monsoon, this channel was blocked up. On the outer side of the island there was a high cliff very like the one at Waltair, some little distance further down the same coast. Sand accumulated in the monsoon round the base of this cliff and a sand bar gradually crept up from it as a nucleus, towards the north-west. The bay was thus shut off from the sea and probably became for a time an enclosed basin. The annual floods, however, soon broke through the bar, a similar process then commenced again and a second bar was formed outside the first, and still remains. The narrow channel through this bar would soon be closed up entirely if it were not kept open artificially. Every few years a new passage has to be cut by the Public Works Department, and even so the size and position of the opening are continually changing.

You will easily see that, owing to the peculiar formation of the channels, a rapid interchange between the water of the sea and that which drains into the lake from the surrounding country is impossible. We find therefore that great changes in saltness occur at different times of the year and at different parts of the lake. All that we know on this point is due to Mr. Kemp's work of last year. Roughly speaking, what occurs is this: The water of the southern part of the lake, where very little exchange takes place, remains slightly salt throughout the year.

You will notice that there are no streams of any size entering this part. At most seasons the rest of the main area is also slightly salt, while the outer channel is practically as salt as the Bay of Bengal. When the rains flood the Mahanadi a great deal of fresh water pours into the northern part of the main area from its river-system, until, for about two months in the year, the middle of August till the middle of October, the pressure is sufficient to drive out the salt water completely, and we find, both in the main area and in the outer channel, water in which there is so little salt that it is not or scarcely perceptible.

A great change of water-level takes place with the coming of the rains and the lake rises 6 to 8 feet, sinking again in the cold weather and spring. A curious fact, for which I am not able to give any adequate explanation, is that it does not sink uniformly and gradually, but as it were by steps. I have been obliged to state these facts in order that you may understand the peculiar physical conditions to which the animals of the lake are subjected. They must either emigrate at certain times of the year, or else be prepared to exist in water of greatly changing salinity and of variable amount. As a matter of fact most of them adopt the latter alternative. It is unnecessary to point out in detail how very unfavourable to life in general are the conditions that they must tolerate.

Now, it is a rule that the animals which persist in a generally unfavourable environment are not those that are highly specialized in structure, form or colour, but those whose constitution is peculiarly vigorous. The physiological *ensemble* that we express vaguely by the term "constitution" is often not expressed, at any rate obviously, by bodily configuration. A vigorous constitution able to withstand unfavourable conditions is, moreover, much rarer in the animal kingdom than a high degree of structural specialization. We find enormous numbers of species specially modified in particular organs for

special kinds of life, but only a few whose constitution permits them to adapt themselves readily to changes of environment. Consequently, in an environment generally unfavourable to life there is little competition and a fauna is therefore produced in which there are few species, but each species is represented by large numbers of individuals. Thus, for example, in the islands of Northern Europe, where fogs are abundant and the summer is short, there is for a period a great wealth of winged insect life, but the number of species into which a naturalist would sort out a collection is extremely small. In the same way we find that one of the most characteristic features of the Chilka Lake is that most of the comparatively small number of different kinds of animals are very abundant.

The fauna is mainly of marine origin, perhaps because there is greater scope for selection and because a vigorous constitution is commoner among marine than among freshwater animals. It is an axiom of zoology that all life came from the sea and the vigour and fertility of life in the sea is still maintained. The greater number of the fish, crabs, worms, medusæ, etc., of the lake are sea beasts, although most of them are able to live for a season in almost pure fresh water. The river-crabs, abundant in the neighbouring tanks and rice fields, and the common pond-snails, do not enter the lake, while freshwater fish are found, but sparingly, though some of them do enter it for a period in the rains.

The great majority of what we may call the permanent residents are, for the reasons that I have already given you, very ordinary in appearance. There is an absence both of brilliant colours and of colouration specially adapted in a high degree for concealment. There is a lack of bizarre form, and the majority of the animals are not modified structurally to a visible extent.

One apparent exception is very instructive.* It is provided by a curious little crustacean closely allied to the

sandhoppers and known as *Quadrivisio bengalensis*—the Four-eyed Mudhopper, Shrimp of Bengal. As its name indicates, the peculiarity of the animal is that it has four eyes, whereas all its allies, if they have eyes at all, have two. This would seem at first sight a very strange and even extreme instance of structural specialization, but we must remember that the eyes of animals of this kind are not separate units. Each is what is called a compound eye, composed of a number of different optic organs, of the precise degree of correlation between which we are still ignorant. In *Quadrivisio* the separate organs are merely arranged in two groups on each side of the head instead of in one. Moreover, what is known of the animal outside Indian waters prove definitely that the division of the eyes is an instance of degeneration rather than of what is ordinarily called specialization.* In the delta of the Ganges and in the Chilka Lake *Quadrivisio bengalensis* lives in situations in which its eyes can be of little use. Like many other animals that live in the muddy estuarine waters of India (e.g., the Gangetic Porpoise) the eyes have begun to disappear. A French naturalist has recently described individuals of the same species from pools of salt water in caves on the island of Zanzibar. They differ from Indian examples in one respect only, namely, that their eyes have more or less completely disappeared. The eyes of *Quadrivisio* are thus, it is evident, in a condition of poor stability, and a slight change of environment, as in the case of the African race, has been sufficient to wipe them out.

Although the conditions of life in the Chilka Lake are generally unfavourable and therefore conservative of lack of structural specialization, there are circumstances in which they are actually favourable, or at any rate in which the unfavourable factors on which we have already dwelt are less important than the favourable circumstances to which I will now allude. In this connection

* Degeneration of an organ is of course in itself a form of specialization.

we may first consider the animals that spend their lives attached to rocks or stones.

By far the greater number of the rocks and stones at the edge of the lake and around its islands are left bare for a considerable part of each year by the retreat of the waters. It is therefore not surprising that the number of animals which live attached permanently to them is extremely small, though such animals are plentiful in the sea. To survive in the conditions that prevail in the lake they must have some special means of protecting and perpetuating the species in the periodic destruction, by dessication, of the individual. Now there are some animals, most of them freshwater forms, that are especially adapted to survive in such circumstances. Though most of them are killed by salt water, this is not always the case and we find one freshwater sponge, the White Pond Sponge (*Spongilla alba*), growing in great abundance on the rocks of the northern part of the lake. Apparently it can only exist on those rocks which are bathed for a part of the year in pure fresh water. It can survive the infusion of a considerable amount of sea-water for a time, but cannot live in a medium that is always salt. This sponge, like the majority of those that commonly live in fresh water, produces, in unfavourable conditions, little seed-like bodies called gemmules and consisting of masses of cells stored with food material and enclosed in a horny impermeable coat. When the sponge dries up its active cells perish, but the cells of the gemmules, remaining in a passive condition and gorged with food, survive and are able to reproduce the whole organism at a favourable season. The gemmule of this sponge have the typical somewhat complicated structure of those of the family to which it belongs. The only special modification exhibited in the lake is that the skeleton is unusually strong when the sponge is growing on rocks exposed to the action of waves. The gemmules float on the surface of the water in enormous numbers.

Another sponge is also found on rocks in the lake. It belongs to the marine family known as the Sybarite Sponges and forms an extremely thin film on the surface of the stone. Other species of the same family produce gemmules, which, as is the rule in marine sponges, are of simple structure, consisting merely of the essential elements of gemmules, *viz.*, food-bearing cells enclosed in a horny capsule. They are globular or flattened bodies attached side by side to the solid objects to which their parents adhere and, in European waters, are produced at the approach of winter or in other circumstances unsuitable for the activities of the sponge. Two species of Sybarite Sponge with gemmules of the kind have managed to survive in the Chilka Lake, attached to weeds, oyster shells and the bottoms of boats. A third species, however, that adheres to the rocks has adopted a very simple and yet efficacious method for the distribution and preservation of its gemmules. Instead of sticking to the rock when their parent-sponge is killed, and germinating when the waters return, they are piled one on the top of another and fastened together by the little pin-like flinty bodies that form the elements of the skeleton in the living sponge. The masses thus produced have an irregular outline like that of many lichens. As the rocks to which they are attached become dry many of them curl up and peel off. They are very light and are carried away by the wind or float on the surface of the water. Doubtless many of them perish, but some arrive at a safe haven and germinate on other rocks.

You will remember that the great bulk of the fresh water that enters the lake periodically is brought in in the north from the Mahanadi system. With this water enormous quantities of fine silt are carried down from the land. The silt forms a fine mud spread over the bottom of the lake, covering the original sandy bed and mixed with a large amount of decayed vegetable matter. There are many animals, especially marine animals, that are

modified to live in dense mud. In order that they may do so two things are necessary. Firstly, they must be able either to maintain their equilibrium in the mud if they remain stationary, or, if they move about, to progress easily through it, and secondly, they must keep the mud from entering their breathing apparatus, or, if they have no special apparatus of the kind, from covering their entire surface.

*The groups to which animals that live in fine mud mainly belong are the coelenterates (that is to say the sea-anemones and their allies), the annelid worms and the bivalve molluscs.

As everyone knows, many annelid worms are able to live underground, some of them (the earthworms) on dry land and others at the bottom of the sea. In the mud of the Chilka Lake we find worms both allied to the earthworms and belonging to marine families, the latter being by far the most abundant. I need not dwell on the structural peculiarities of these animals in general, but I would draw your attention to the peculiar manner in which one species prevents its eggs and young from being overwhelmed by the mud in which it itself is able to live with impunity. The eggs are laid in great masses of a jelly-like substance and these masses are anchored to the mouth of the burrows in which the parent resides by means of a stiffer outer coat; this coat covers the whole of the mass and forms a hollow stalk at its base. The spawn thus floats freely on the water above the surface of the mud and the eggs and larvæ are able to obtain the oxygen necessary for their development without difficulty.

*The mud-loving coelenterates of the lake are as a rule more or less stationary, though not absolutely fixed in position like the sponges on the rocks. An interesting form common in the lake is a very beautiful and delicate kind of sea-pen, existing in colonies of many polyps which are arranged on the sides of the central stalk. At the base of

the stalk there is a comparatively large bladder-like organ by means of which the whole colony is anchored in the mud. This bladder has the power of changing its shape and size by drawing in water and by muscular action. Should the colony be dislodged by any accident it is able to elongate itself and to insinuate its tip into the bottom, and then to swell itself out by compressing its walls and so squeezing the contained water into its tip. By alternate movements of this kind it rapidly bores a hole for the base of the colony, which re-assumes and maintains an upright position. The polyps are then entirely free from the mud.

Two kinds of true sea-anemone found in the lake have adopted a similar device, but they are not compound animals and their bladder forms part of the base of a single polyp.

The most complicated methods are, however, adopted by certain bivalve molluscs that live an active life. They are provided in the first place with a pair of long or extensile tubes through one of which the animal is able to draw water into an enclosed gill-chamber, while from the other it can eject the waste water from which its gills have extracted the oxygen. The animal itself, in its shell, lies buried in the mud, while the siphons, as the tubes are called, project upwards into the water. Such molluscs are also provided with a foot shaped more or less like a ploughshare, and with this foot they burrow rapidly or move along on the surface of the mud. A third characteristic feature is the extreme thinness, which is sometimes accompanied by a perfect transparency, of the shell. A heavy shell would be an encumbrance to an animal that has to progress through mud. All these features are displayed in an excellent manner by the Oriental Glass Shell (*Theora opalina*), one of the commonest molluscs in the lake. The fragility of the shell is shown even better in the Indian Paper Cockle (*Clementia annandalei*), which is also very abundant.

The most remarkable of the Chilka molluscs is, however, a little species allied to the European razor-shell. In this animal the two siphons are fused together so that a section across them has the form of the figure 8. The compound siphon of this species is stout and about as long as the shell. The curious feature about it is that it consists of a large number of joints and that the animal is able to cast it off joint by joint. Each joint is provided at its tip with a circle of little tentacles, which doubtless have some sensory function. When a joint is cast off the one next it that remains is already provided with these tentacles. The stout compound siphon must be an attractive morsel to the hungry little fish that range the surface of the mud. The whole mollusc would be still more acceptable, in its thin and fragile shell, but it saves its skin by sacrificing part of an organ the whole of which is not absolutely necessary for its existence, just as a house-lizard sacrifices its tail.

You will naturally ask, have the modifications described in different inhabitants of the lake been acquired through evolution in the lake itself? In most cases we know that this is not so, for most of the species that are modified in a striking manner have been found in other localities in which similar conditions prevailed and in a large number of cases allied forms with the same peculiarities are known. The environment provided by the formation of the lake has merely been unusually suitable for their survival.

In describing to you the result of the work undertaken last year by Mr. Kenap and myself—and I cannot say which part of it is his and which part my own—I have been obliged to cling to the main line and to avoid side issues, some of which are at least as interesting. I have been unable to indicate which of the facts are new discoveries and which are part of the common stock of knowledge of zoologists. Those who are naturalists will easily recognize the latter.

There is only one more point to which I propose to direct your attention, namely, the methods by which Uriya

fishermen catch fish and prawns in the lake. It is too often assumed that because a piece of fishery or agricultural apparatus is primitive and simple it is necessarily unscientific. Some seven years ago, when the Government of Bengal wished to prospect the marine fisheries of the Bay, they got out a steam-trawler fitted up for work in the North Sea and the Arctic Ocean. In the circumstance, the primitive fishtraps used in the Chilka Lake are more scientific than was the *Golden Crown*, because they are based on experience. The most elaborate form of purely experimental research is nothing more than concentrated experience. I cannot, of course, describe to you all, or anything like all, of the different kinds of fishtraps used in the Chilka Lake, but I select two as being peculiarly good examples of the way in which the methods employed are based on study—subconscious study it is true—of the animals that are to be caught. At certain seasons of the year water-weeds grow up in great aquatic thickets in sheltered parts of the lake. They form immediately a nidus for the young larvæ that are always being produced by certain mussels and the whole of the weed is soon covered by little shells clinging to it like bunches of fruit. Both the weeds themselves, and perhaps more especially the young mussels, are a favourite food of several different kinds of edible fish. This is well known to the fishermen, who watch the shoals of fish, often for weeks, until they are in a suitable position. A light fence is then rapidly erected round the shoals, enclosing an area that may occupy many acres. Narrow runs are also constructed into which their knowledge teaches the fishermen that the fish will enter in certain circumstances, and from which they are easily taken in a small net. A daily catch is made in these runs, until the area enclosed dries up completely, an event that does not occur for some months. The aggregate number of fish caught in a trap of the kind must be very great, although the daily catch is not always large.

Those of you who have seen the Chilka Lake must have been struck by the curious appearance of large basket-like objects fixed on stakes at or near the edge of the water. These are prawn-traps drying. They are set at night in places where the prawns are likely to be abundant. The individual traps need not detain us long; they are rectangular baskets made of narrow strips of bamboo fastened together by the stem of a creeper. Each has on one face several apertures protected within by converging strips of bamboo, which render it very difficult for a prawn or fish that has once entered to escape. The interesting feature of the traps is the manner in which they are arranged when they are set. A fence, which is sometimes of considerable length, is built out into the lake from the shore and round its outer end the traps are set in a circle or oval with their apertures opening inwards. Prawns, as the fishermen know, are mainly nocturnal in their habits and are accustomed to walk along the edge of the lake in very shallow water at night. If they come to any obstacle, such as the fence, they do their best to make their way round it. They are also fond of forcing themselves into any little cranny that they come across, in order to remain concealed and protected through the day. Very early in the morning, or perhaps even before morning, those prawns which have encountered one of the groups of traps and have made their way along the fence and into the circle, take refuge in the traps, from which they are removed when the fisherman makes his round at dawn.

These two methods of fishing will at any rate prove to you the extreme ingenuity of the Uriya fisherman and the fact that his methods are based on a study of the animals that form his means of sustenance.

N. ANNANDALE.

Calcutta.

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION AS A CIVIC PROBLEM.

BY W. W. HORNELL, M.A. (OXON).

THE Education Department of Bengal is concerned with an area which, excluding the Native States, has a population of about $45\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The capital of this amazing country Calcutta is locally administered by a Municipality in whose area there live some 900,000 people. Outside Calcutta the local authorities, as they would be called in England, are the municipalities and the district boards. From the point of view of population the next largest municipality to Calcutta is Howrah with a population of something like 200,000; then comes Dacca with a population of little more than 100,000 people. .

2. Now we all know more or less what the system of educational administration in this Presidency is, and for the purposes of this paper it is not necessary to have more than quite a general idea of it. The Local Government acting through the Education Department attempts not only to supervise and control but also to some extent to administer, practically all grades of education, but in dealing with primary education, or rather with education which is imparted either wholly or mainly through the medium of the vernacular, it has devolved certain powers and responsibilities on to district boards and to some extent on to the *mufassal* municipalities. The work of the Local Government in connection with all the grades of education with which it is directly concerned is carried on partly through the medium of educational institutions of its own, which are administered through the hierarchy of the Education Department, but mainly through a system of grants-in-aid which are paid to colleges and schools on certain conditions which include

inspection and the acceptance of certain recognized courses. The initiative for the provision of colleges and schools other than primary schools, excepting so far as Government may occasionally decide to establish a school or college of its own, is left, practically speaking, to the public, the idea being that if the people of a certain place want, say, a high school, it is for them to establish it and to approach Government, if they wish, when the school has been working for a reasonable time on a basis which appears to be more or less permanent, with a request that the development of the school may be assisted by a Government grant.

3. The most important factor in the system of public education is then the Local Government and it will be well to remember at the outset that in spite of the Decentralization Commission the system is a highly centralized one.

4. The other factors in the system of educational administration are the district boards and the *mufassal* municipalities. The Local Self-Government Act imposed on the larger district boards the maintenance and management of all primary and middle schools which are under public control within the district, the construction and repair of all the buildings connected therewith, the appointment of all teachers, the payment of the salaries of such teachers, the opening—subject to the sanction of the Director of Public Instruction—of new schools and the transferring and the closing of existing schools, the fixing of school fees, the fixing of the class or standard of instruction of every school—subject to the condition that the selection must be made in classes and standards recognized by the Department—and, lastly, the distribution of grants-in-aid to all classes of schools. You will notice that this devolution has reference to middle as well as to primary schools. This accounts for my saying above that the Local Government has devolved on to district boards certain powers and responsibilities in connection with education imparted either

wholly or mainly through the medium of the vernacular. Primary schools which accept the regulations of the Education Department teach the vernacular only ; middle schools teach through the medium of the vernacular, but some which are called middle English schools, as opposed to the others which are called middle vernacular schools, teach English as a second language.

5. The position of *mufassal* municipalities in regard to the provision of education is a little more complicated. In accordance with Section 69 of the Municipal Act of 1884, municipalities may, subject to such rules and restrictions as the Local Government may from time to time prescribe, apply municipal funds *inter alia* to the construction and repair of school houses and the establishment and maintenance of school houses within the municipality either wholly or by means of grants-in-aid. In the terms of a Government order passed in 1893, municipalities were required to provide for the primary education of at least half the boys of school-going age, *for this purpose* they were required to spend a certain percentage, *viz.*, 3·2 per cent. of their ordinary income. Until the said conditions were fulfilled, no part of a municipality's income could be devoted to giving aid to secondary schools even in respect of such instruction as a secondary school might give in classes which gave instruction similar to that which would be imparted in primary schools. As the result of a recommendation of the recent Royal Commission on Decentralization the order requiring a municipality to spend 3·2 per cent. of its income on primary education has been rescinded and though the principle enunciated may still be regarded as fixing a suitable standard of expenditure in the matter of primary education, its obligatory character has been withdrawn. This change only affects Western Bengal; the position as regards the *mufassal* municipalities in Eastern Bengal is the same now as it has been since 1893, when the Government of Bengal issued the order to which I have referred above.

6. Let us now turn to Calcutta. Under Section 14 (2) (vii) of the Calcutta Municipal Act, the Corporation may provide for the promotion of primary and technical education. The promotion of education in these grades is in fact one of the secondary duties which the Corporation is empowered to undertake. Previous to the above Act there was no provision for expenditure from municipal funds in Calcutta on education, primary or otherwise. It was only when the Amalgamation Bill, which afterwards became Act II B. C. of 1888, was under discussion in the Council that the provision for the promotion of primary and technical education was added to Section 36 of that Act at the instance of Sir (or as was then, Dr.) Gurudas Banerjea. One of the grounds urged in favour of this provision was that as the portion of suburbs, which was then going to be amalgamated with Calcutta, enjoyed education grants under the Bengal Municipal Act, it would be unjust to deprive them of the same. There was some very strong opposition to the proposal. In the course of the debate the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar said that with all his love of education he had not been able to persuade himself that the provision of education formed any part of municipal duty.

7. In 1908 the Corporation appointed a special committee to determine the policy to be followed in regard to the promotion of primary and industrial education in Calcutta and to devise means for carrying out the same. I should explain at this point that for the purposes of grants-in-aid the Corporation has practically interpreted the term "technical" as referring to industrial and has confined its attention to industrial schools. The committee was reconstituted in 1909 and submitted an *ad interim* report in August 1910. In this report the committee pointed out that the Government and the Corporation were acting independently with regard to contributions made towards the promotion of primary and industrial education in Calcutta, that the Corporation had been in

the habit of distributing its grants without (or largely without) reference to the inspecting officers of the Education Department with the result that sometimes bogus schools received assistance, while sound schools went without. It was recommended that the distribution of Corporation grants should in future be made in consultation with the officers of the Education Department.

8. Sir Charles Allen was in favour of the Corporation taking over the primary education of Calcutta and in their *ad interim* report which was submitted in 1910 the committee considered the question whether the Corporation should offer to take over from the Government the entire control of primary and industrial education in Calcutta, receiving in return a grant in the nature of the revenue equivalent to the present expected cost of this service to Government. The principle upon which this proposal was put forward was that the primary and industrial education of the youth of the city was a civic duty which should properly be discharged by the Corporation, as a part of the municipal administration, and it was urged that it was anomalous that the citizens of Calcutta should exercise less control over education than the district boards in rural areas and the *mufassal* municipalities throughout the province. On these grounds as also for reasons connected with the difficulty of making a proper distribution of grants, it was suggested, at an early stage of the committee's proceedings, that the Corporation should assume the responsibility of controlling and aiding primary and industrial education in Calcutta, employing a regular inspecting staff and appointing a standing committee whose business it would be to deal with all educational matter. Having arrived at the conclusion that, if financial conditions permitted, it was desirable on general grounds that the Corporation, if necessary, with expert assistance, should take over the control of primary and industrial education in Calcutta, the committee proceeded to examine in detail what the cost, both present and ultimate, would be, if the proposal

were carried into effect. At about this stage Mr. (now Sir Archdale) Earle, who had been Director of Public Instruction, joined the Corporation as its Chairman. Mr. Earle's view was that, if the Corporation made themselves responsible for primary and industrial education, they would find themselves swamped in expenditure. He therefore disapproved of the proposal that the Corporation should assume this responsibility, although he personally was in favour of placing primary and industrial education under municipal control, if such an arrangement could be shown to be practicable. Very little resulted from the deliberations of this committee except the adoption of certain recommendations with regard to payments of grants to schools. Unfortunately the proceedings of the last meetings of the committee are not available; they were apparently not recorded, for the reporter fell ill and had to leave the service of the Corporation.

9. At this point it will perhaps be convenient to describe the responsibility of the Corporation of Bombay in the matter of education in that city. Briefly the arrangement amounts to this. In 1907-08 the contribution of Government towards education in Bombay city was Rs. 72,768 and the Corporation contribution for that year was Rs. 1,25,036, this latter contribution being in accordance with a section of the Bombay Municipal Act which provides that the municipal contribution should not be less than a sum of such amount as added to the fee levied in the same year would be equal to double the Government grant for that year. This section has since been replaced by the City of Bombay Police Charges Act which provides that the Municipal Corporation of Bombay is to be relieved of all expenses on account of the City Police and that in place thereof it should undertake certain educational and other expenses. Under the Act just referred to a body, which was previously known as the Joint Schools Committee, became the Schools Committee of the Corporation,

and the Corporation now contributes the full amount for the maintenance of primary schools. Thus, the responsibility for primary education in Bombay rests with the Corporation.

10. On the 31st March last there were in Calcutta according to the returns 559 schools of public instruction and 49 institutions not working according to any recognized departmental standards. This makes a total of 608 institutions with 58,671 pupils, of whom 47,040 were boys and 11,625 were girls. The total expenditure during the financial year, 1912-13, on schools of public instruction—the finances of private institutions are not returned—amounted to Rs. 12,93,110, towards which Provincial revenues contributed Rs. 3,03,461 and Municipal funds Rs. 29,357; the balance of the expenditure was met as follows :—

From fees	Rs. 7,27,198
From other private sources including subscription	„ 2,33,094

11. Further analysis of the above figures yields the following result. There were 89 secondary schools for boys and girls including High English, Middle English and Middle Vernacular schools with a total of 28,419 pupils, of whom 3,318 only were girls, and the total expenditure on these schools during 1912-13 was Rs. 8,40,433 towards which the contributions from Provincial revenues were Rs. 1,00,662, contributions from Municipal funds Rs. 6,233, contributions from fees Rs. 6,00,950 and the contribution from other private sources Rs. 1,32,588. It must here be explained that though the Corporation is only authorized to make grants towards primary education it can, and does, make grants to secondary schools in consideration of the work done in the lower classes, which is similar to that attempted in primary schools.

12. The number of primary schools in Calcutta on the 31st March 1913 was 227 with an enrolment of 15,777 pupils, of whom 5,481 were girls, and these schools cost

during the financial year Rs. 1,20,691, this cost being distributed as follows :—

Provincial revenues	...	...	...	Rs.	28,469 *
Municipal funds	...	...	...	„	11,410
Fees	...	...	...	„	48,293
Other sources	..	.	...	„	32,519

13. The number of schools for special instruction in Calcutta on the 31st March 1913 including training schools for teachers, schools of art, medical schools, industrial schools, commercial schools, *madrassas* and miscellaneous schools, such as *maktabs*, or Muhammadan primary schools, Sanskrit *tols*, etc., was 243 with an enrolment of 10,345 pupils, of whom 1,589 were girls. The total expenditure on these institutions is returned as Rs. 3,31,986 towards which amount Provincial revenues contributed Rs. 1,74,330, Municipal funds Rs. 11,714, fees Rs. 77,955 and other private sources Rs. 67,987.

14. The total amount contributed from Municipal funds during the financial year 1912-13 to the institutions above referred to was, as I have stated, Rs. 29,357. To this must be added a sum of Rs. 3,537 contributed towards hostel charges and by way of payments to certain private schools. This brings the total contribution up to Rs. 32,894. The Corporation also surrenders annually a certain amount of income by exempting from rates various educational institutions of all grades. The value of this surrender when added to grants to free libraries and a special grant to the Deaf and Dumb School, brings the total contribution from the Municipality for the year 1912-13 up to something like Rs. 70,000. So far as I have been able to make out the total annual expenditure of the Corporation is now about 108½ lakhs.

15. According to the figures which I have quoted above there were on the 31st March last 47,046 boys and 11,625 girls on the rolls of the institution included in the above returns. Taking the census figure and estimating 15 per cent. of the male and female population as representing roughly the number of boys and girls of the

school-going age it would appear that 51·6 per cent. of the boys of the school-going age in Calcutta are actually at school and about 26·8 per cent. the girls.

16. The Education Department of Bengal employs exclusively in Calcutta one Deputy and one additional Deputy Inspector of Schools, two Sub-Inspectors, one inspecting *maulvi*, three inspecting *pandits* and one inspecting *munshi*. The whole of the above-mentioned staff works under the Inspector of Schools who is responsible for the whole of the Presidency Division. He also himself inspects schools in Calcutta as also does the Additional Inspector of Schools of Calcutta and Diamond Harbour, and the Assistant Inspector of Schools for Calcutta and the 24-Parganas. The Inspectress of Schools who is responsible for the whole of the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions is in general charge of girls' schools throughout that area and there is working under her an Assistant Inspectress of Schools for the Presidency Division. A proposal to appoint a separate Assistant Inspectress for Calcutta only is now before the Government of Bengal. The Deputy and the Additional Deputy Inspector of Schools are concerned primarily with the inspection of middle schools for boys and upper primary schools, the Sub-Inspectors are concerned with the inspection of primary schools, the inspecting *pandits*, *munshis* and *maulvies* inspect lower primary schools or *maktabs*, *viz.*, Muhammadan primary schools. I must also mention that the Inspector of European Schools is responsible to Government for all recognized European schools in the Presidency, including of course Calcutta, and that in respect of schools for European girls he is assisted by the Inspectress, part of whose duty it is to visit European girls' schools also. Applications for grants from Municipal funds have to be countersigned by the Deputy Inspector of Schools in the case of Indian boys' schools, by the Inspectress of Schools in case of girls' schools, by the Inspector of European Schools in case of European schools.

17. This then in the briefest outline is the educational system of Calcutta and the administrative machinery by which it is being carried on. The first point which must, I think, occur to anyone when the system is first explained to them is that it is not and never has been anyone's business to consider such basic questions as what schools are needed and where. What in fact happens is something like this. I am thinking for the moment of schools for Indian children and not of schools for Europeans or Anglo-Indians. Schools are started very largely as private ventures in response to demands real or supposed. Those who start them house them wherever or howsoever they can and in the case of a high English school, if a certain number of pupils can be got together and the standard of accommodation and general efficiency is not made too exacting, the running cost may be met and even a profit made.

18. In the case of primary schools the state of affairs is even more chaotic. A *pandit* or a *maulvi* appears and he sets himself to establish a primary school. He looks about for a habitat and having found some building which is sufficiently cheap, he gets together a few pupils, and if he can retain these pupils for a certain time he goes to the Deputy Inspector and possibly to the Municipality and obtains a grant. In 1905 the Government of Bengal pointed out to the Municipality that the primary schools of the town were a disgrace, being dark, ill-ventilated, damp and unhealthy, and in most cases too small to accommodate the number of children attending them. A scheme was at the time proposed by which the Municipality with the help of Government should construct some 45 model primary schools; but this scheme was not carried into effect and the condition of the primary schools in Calcutta continues to be absolutely deplorable.

19. The condition of secondary schools is very little better. Very few schools are situated in houses of their own, and practically none of them are accommodated in

buildings constructed for schools. The Imperial Government recently made available a capital grant of a sum of 75 lakhs for educational purposes in Bengal including the proposed University for Dacca. A certain amount of this grant has gone to the University of Calcutta and some of the special capital grants for European education which was included in the 75 lakhs will be spent in Calcutta. But practically nothing will be spent out of this allotment on schools for Indian boys and girls in Calcutta, for the whole problem of school accommodation has always been regarded as too big to touch. In Dacca on the other hand just because there has been some attempt to tackle the problem of school provisions as a whole, the Government of Bengal is now proposing to spend ten lakhs of rupees on a scheme for providing some of the schools in the centre of the town with decent sites and buildings.

20. It is unnecessary to say that this state of affairs can be regarded as neither satisfactory nor even tolerable. It seems to me almost unthinkable that the citizens of Calcutta should acquiesce permanently in it. I know there are enormous difficulties, and I do not wish to preach the application to Calcutta of the practice of the leading cities of England in the matter of school provision during the last ten years or so. But there must be schools in Calcutta and the demand for them is not likely to decrease. Are you going permanently to leave the question of school provision to chance or to the tender mercies of the central Government who have the whole Presidency to look to and who can make a shilling go about as far in the *mufassal* as they can make a pound go in Calcutta? Supposing an Act is ever passed making primary education in Calcutta free and compulsory you cannot compel children to attend schools unless there are schools for them to attend. Just conceive of the problem which someone will then have to face. We have now a large scheme for the improvement of Calcutta. Surely at such a juncture the problem of schools in which future

generations are to be educated ought not to be altogether overlooked ?

21. I have no cut and dried scheme to suggest. I do not even advocate the assumption by the Municipality of the whole responsibility of any grade of education in Calcutta. The object of this paper is to invite discussion ; but if I might make a suggestion, it is this. Would it not be possible to appoint a committee partly of members of the Municipality, partly of representatives of various sections of the population and partly of educational officers, to consider the whole question of school accommodation within the municipal limits and to devise a practical scheme covering as many years as the circumstances of the case seem to demand for the provision of such new school buildings as the needs of the population appear likely to require. The Municipality now spend annually some Rs. 70,000 in grants, which so far as I can see, effect very little. Supposing the committee which I have above suggested could work out a scheme for providing Calcutta in the course of a certain number of years with a certain number of decent primary school buildings, would not the Municipality with a such a scheme before them be willing to discontinue the payment of grants and in return to use their credit for the purpose of raising a loan for the construction of the school buildings? If this were done Government might well agree to provide the grants necessary for the maintenance not only of the existing primary schools but also of such primary schools as the Municipality might establish under the scheme which I have just outlined.

22. If such a scheme worked well, the principle might be extended to schools other than primary. That is to say, that by degrees the present system of private venture secondary schools might gradually be supplemented by a series of secondary schools which would be constructed by the Municipality and financed partly by Government and partly by fees received. The private venture secondary

schools of Calcutta may possibly meet the needs for the moment, but as secondary education becomes more costly, as indeed it must, as life and social conditions become more complex, the private venture schools housed in any hole or corner and distributed according to no organized plan, are bound to become in time a hopeless anachronism. As it is the buildings in which the secondary schools for Indian boys in Calcutta are housed are infinitely inferior to those which are now to be found in the *mufassal*. The reason for this, of course, is not far to seek. When a new school building is wanted in the *mufassal*, a site can be procured and a decent building constructed for a sum of money, which would not buy a quarter of the site in Calcutta.

W. W. HORNELI, M.A. (OXON).

MUSIC: EUROPEAN AND INDIAN.

BY STANLEY RICE, I. C. S.

FROM time to time controversies have arisen as to the relative merits of Indian and European music. As there are probably very few Indians sufficiently conversant with the music of the West to justify them in criticizing it, these controversies are generally confined to European writers who for some reason or other seem anxious to glorify the music of the East to the disadvantage of her Western sister and to approach the question rather from the political than the artistic standpoint. The attitude is, perhaps, pardonable at least to some extent because there is too often a tendency to consider the East in all things inferior to the West. But unfortunately the result is that the over-championship of the cause leaves an impression of defiance and sometimes commits the champion to the most astounding propositions.

Music is the appeal to our æsthetic consciousness through the medium of sound: it "embodies the inward feelings of which other arts can but exhibit the effect." Herein it differs from painting which is either limited to the idealized imitation of nature or to the outward expression of intangible ideas through the medium of natural representation. A "Holy Family" without that touch of devotion which the old masters knew how to give is just a family group and a Watts may portray "Hope" as a blindfold girl with a broken lyre. These things are depicted for us and it only requires an exercise of the cultivated intellect to appreciate them. Poetry too, though it appeals to the æsthetic sense by the beauty of language, states or describes emotions or perceptions in words and thus exercises the rational faculties, but the influence of rhyme and rhythm differentiates it from prose. Have you

noticed that in "Julius Cæsar" Brutus addresses the Roman people in prose, appealing to their reason, while Antony, appealing to their passion, speaks in verse? There are, it is true, other kinds of painting and even of poetry (though these are more rare) which seem to appeal solely to the sensuous delight in colour and in sound. A "Nocturne in Grey and Silver" is just a study in colour, and no one looking at Turner's splendid picture of sunset on stately buildings has ever troubled about either Agrippina or Germanicus. This particular aspect of the matter is not without importance as we shall see.

Music is rather the expression of the emotions and passions and has been called the "universal language" because it is able to express in a kind of lingua franca such emotions as love, joy, sorrow or devotion which are common to the human race the world over. But this is not the only function of music and the limited definition has led the champions of Indian music into their first error. The famous "Barabbas" discord in Bach's Passion music is simply descriptive: it is an attempt to suggest the howl of the Jewish mob. Similarly the bray in the "Midsummer Night's Dream" overture, and the great Chorus "Then did Elijah" are comparable to the well-known onomatopoeic lines in Homer and Virgil. Again the storm in Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony is purely pictorial, and Wagner is particularly fond of this device, which he uses to paint the storm in the Overture to the Flying Dutchman, the rustling of trees in Siegfried, the rush of horses and the flickering of flame in Die Walküre, and even the uncouth clumsiness of the giants in Rheingold. Even more homely and realistic effects are attempted by Richard Strauss in the Sinfonia Domestica.

Pictorial music may not be the highest expression of the art. As with poetry so with music we feel that description is easier and less exalted than impression and abstraction. Merely noting that it is a recognized form, we pass to the further consideration that music need not

excite any definite emotion at all and may yet be of the highest quality. Highly sensitive natures may, perhaps, feel the emotion of terror on seeing a storm at sea : they may be moved to the emotion of joy or of love by a sunset or by the song of the birds, but surely these cases are rare and to the great majority of us the sensation is rather objective : we feel first the grandeur of the storm, the beauty of the sunset and the sweetness of the song, which no doubt react upon our mental attitude but only in a secondary degree. And this is the case with nearly all great music which is not in one way or another labelled, ear-marked for the purpose of representing something definite. What particular emotion for instance is stirred by the "Waldstein" sonata or by the two violin concertos of Mendelssohn ? It may please certain novelists to try and express music in terms of painting and to translate the untranslatable, but Brahms' Handel variations charm by their own beauty and by the tumult of magnificent sound and not by any fancied resemblance to snow scenes or starshine or by any reference to love or joy or sorrow or any other emotion. Of course the mind is attuned to the music. One does not expect a tender melancholy as the result of the A major symphony.

Here as it seems to me the Indian apologists make their first mistake. They assume that some emotion or another must be produced, and their error is probably due to the fact that such a large proportion of Indian music is vocal. Now I have purposely refrained from any mention of vocal music because the moment music becomes vocal its range and scope become limited. It loses its vague, indefinite power and is subject to the words which cannot but have their influence on the mind. There are at least three settings by eminent composers of Heine's song "Du bist wie eine Blume" but no music can deprive it of its character as a love song. With the aid of the words we can trace Schumann's cycle "Frauenliebe und Leben"

from the first dawning of love through the betrothal, the marriage, and the birth of the child to the death of the husband and we can appreciate the fitness of the music, but without the words would that cycle convey the same meaning? Now if we are to judge music by the words to which it is set and if we lay down the canon that devotion to, adoration of or unity with the Supreme Being is the highest sentiment of which man is capable, it must be confessed that European music does not take a high place. Though nothing more devotional than the "Agnus Dei" of Mozart's 1st Mass and nothing more sublime than his "Requiem" has ever been written we must eliminate such works as having been written for a special purpose. Putting aside the Oratorios, a great part of which is narrative, we find that amongst Schubert's songs for instance there is only one, "Die Allmacht," which is purely religious. On the other hand the great majority of the very numerous *ragams* of Thiagaraja Iyer, the acknowledged master of South Indian music, are invocations to the Deity, songs of supplication or of worship. That proves our point, say the Indian apologists. That proves nothing at all, since we have merely assumed the premisses. It only shows that Indian music has a greater tendency to the sacred form and that it is in all probability being judged by the words. Above all it leaves out of account all that great mass of symphonic and harmonic music which is the glory of Europe and of which India knows nothing.

A second curious error of the Indian apologist which appeared in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* is that while in Indian music the unit is the phrase, in European music at any rate since the introduction of notation the unit is the bar. This is exactly like saying that before the introduction of printing the unit was the sentence and that afterwards it became the word. The bar merely marks the rhythm which is usually done in Indian music either by a pedal string, as in the vina, or by a drum or by

clapping the hands. Where this is not done the rhythm is preserved by accent though as some rhythms are complicated it is not always easy to catch the time. But the phrase is common to and is the unit of both styles. This is so obvious as to need no illustration. Let any reader take a well-known composition and stop at the end of a bar instead of at the end of the evident phrase or sentence.

A more weighty contention is that by reason of the written form European music tends to become more rigid : the performer is told exactly how fast a piece should be taken ; loud and soft, crescendo and diminuendo, staccato and legato are all marked and all elasticity and individuality vanish. But the *ragam* being unwritten and we may add simple, is capable of almost infinite variation by a skilled musician. A touch here and there ; an alteration of the time or the rhythm may carry us through the whole gamut of emotions, from love to triumph, from triumph to worship, from worship to sorrow. Let the point be conceded as far as it goes and let it be noted that according to its advocates this freedom is the only possible means by which the individual soul can find adequate expression. The whole conception is foreign to European ideas, which shrink from meddling with the work of a great master. It is, for instance, quite easy to play Chopin's 24th Etude as a slow march in chords instead of in arpeggios, but no one would think of doing so except for the purpose of exhibiting the theme without its ornaments. And again European music is far too complicated to admit of such a device, which at best is limited to the single performer. Who could possibly invent variation upon variation of Beethoven's great Sonata in B flat ? It has no doubt pleased certain masters to take the themes of other men and to play with them ; Beethoven's Diabelli variations and Brahms' Handel variations are conspicuous instances. But these are quite different from the improvisations of a performer however skilled.

It is perhaps natural to try and compare the art in the East and the West but in fact no just comparison can be made. It is more than probable that the strains of Tyrtæus would leave a modern army quite unmoved and it is quite certain that the throbbing of the war drum is capable of exciting an Oriental to frenzy while it simply bores or exasperates the European. No one who knows the various schools of European music—the German, the French, the Italian, the English, the Russian and the Norwegian—can fail to see that the music of one nation may not appeal in at all the same manner to another. And in India Eastern ears and Western ears are deaf each to the music of the other. This is perhaps in some measure due to the difficulty of obtaining good music of either kind but far more to the want of musical perception. The great triumphal march at the close of the C minor symphony, the passion of Isolde's Liebestod, the delicacy of Schumann's "Die Rose, Die Lilie" are all lost on the Hindu, to whom all alike are so much meaningless noise, while those *ragams* which are to the Hindu as the ladder leading from earth to heaven, seem to the European to be merely tinkling gymnastics.

Whether then, music is limited to the expression of definite emotions or may claim to produce also those wider and more vague impressions to which allusion was made earlier, neither side can justly claim on these lines alone that his art is superior to the other, for the European simply does not understand the Indian nor the Indian the European, and in those rare cases, if indeed they exist at all in which the same critic has studied both arts alike, there is certain to be a mental bias in favour of one side or the other. Moreover to compare them on these lines is like comparing some delicate carving in ivory with Michael Angelo's David, some exquisite miniature with Velasquez' Pope. It is surely better to discard such vain comparisons and to confine ourselves to a more profitable field of discussion, the scope and development of the art.

Music is roughly divided into harmony and melody ; harmony, as the word implies, is fitting together combined sounds, and melody represents the succession of musical notes. That at least is the modern connotation of the terms though it may be that in earlier times they meant something different. The earliest musical instrument was the human voice ; a single individual was therefore incapable of harmonic sound and a chorus in unison is only the multiplication of a single voice and is therefore melodic. Vocal and melodic music is evidently, then, the beginning of the art, for it is plain that harmonic sound being a chorus of different parts fitted together to make a combined whole, is a more complex and therefore a later development. Again it has been suggested that instruments of percussion came next, then wind instruments, and finally strings. Instruments of percussion were intended to accentuate the rhythm : the drum—a mere piece of skin stretched over a frame—took the place of the clapping of hands and the stamping of feet. This has been developed into our modern drums, which can be tuned, as well as into the cymbals and the kettledrum. Wind instruments which began with a reedpipe now include both metal and wood : —the trumpet, trombone and cornet are examples of the former, the flute, hautboy and clarionet of the latter. The earliest examples of strings are those instruments which are plucked, such as the guitar, the lyre and the harp : the violin, violin, *alto* and viola came later.

This is exactly the line of development which European music has taken. Amongst the early examples of music we find an English part song for four voices with two more added as a ground bass, the songs of the Troubadours, and of the minnesaenger of Germany, madrigals, canons and catches. And so through the early Italian composers we come to counterpoint in Bach and to the rise of the symphony in Haydn. Mozart succeeded Haydn, Beethoven Mozart and from Beethoven there has been regular progress by way of Schumann, Richard

Wagner; Tschaiakowsky and Richard Strauss. At first sight this may look like an assertion that these composers are ranked in an ascending scale but a little reflection will show that that is not the point. There is no doubt that the orchestra has immensely increased in scope and capability since the time of Mozart and Haydn while the 29th and later sonatas of Beethoven were written for an instrument unknown to earlier writers. The rather cramped formalism of the older writers which nearly always prescribed set movements for the sonata and the symphony—the Allegro the slow movement, the Scherzo or Minuet, and the Finale—gave way in the later writings of Beethoven to a less rigid arrangement and the intellectual beauty of the classical style merged into the passion of Romanticism.

Those who seek to study Indian music are always confronted with the difficulty of distinguishing good music from bad and must be continually on their guard against hasty generalizations concerning the scope of the art. The caterwauling of cartmen in the road is obviously not music: the performances of the average temple band are comparable at best to the musical comedy selections of some regimental band. If we are to confine ourselves to safe ground, we may perhaps adopt the following principles :—

1. Indian music is largely vocal.
2. The vina is the queen of Indian instruments.
3. Harmonic music, except in its primitive forms, is practically unknown.
4. All Indian music is traditional.

It may be argued that it is not fair to treat an art by this method of imperfect dissection or analysis. The answer is that we are not now concerned with beauty but with development. Just as Mozart with his limited means may have produced more consummate works than Wagner so the *ragams* of Thiagaraja Iyer may with the necessary limitations ascend into the very heaven of the art. But

the scope of expression on a single instrument and that one plucked by the fingers cannot be very great. On the other hand it is necessary to remember that the genius of Indian music is chiefly in the rhythm ; in that the Indian is a past master and even the uneducated drumbeater of the streets shows a wonderful command of the most complicated times. Probably rubato time is hardly known to the art. In comparison with rhythm tune is of small consequence and tone of hardly any consequence at all. This perhaps accounts for the pedal note which seems to be indispensable in Indian music but which hardly appears in the European variety except in the bagpipes. To us, on the other hand time, tune and tone are at least of equal importance ; certainly all is not subordinated to the time, while we denounce as murder the scraping, banging or shrieking of a masterpiece though the notes may be accurate and the rhythm perfect.

On the theory that stringed instruments played with a bow mark the highest stage in musical development, Indian music should be capable of greater things for the violin is only an importation from Europe. But this theory may seem fanciful, supported only by the known facts of European development. At any rate there is no need to press it because the argument from Nature is more cogent. The untaught savage wishing to express himself in musical language would naturally use first the unaccompanied voice. He would then find that clapping the hands or stamping the feet was a great assistance to the time. By degrees he would substitute a drum for this and then would come the single instruments helping out the voice with the melody in unison. Simple harmonic accompaniments by two or three instruments, and then the dropping out of the voice would lead to concerted music and thence by gradual steps to orchestration and the symphony. On this theory, to which surely no very serious objection can be taken, Indian music in spite of its complicated scale and its fiorature has not reached a very high grade of development. It is doubtful

if Indian music has advanced at all during the last three centuries and certainly the advance made is inconsiderable compared with that in Europe.

One cause for this is the want of a notation. As long as music is traditional it is impossible for it to adopt any complex harmonic forms. Can we conceive that Beethoven's A major symphony could be handed down by the traditional method—that John could transmit the drum part to Harry or Tom, the clarionet part to Bill and that the Harrys and the Bills and the rest could be so fortunate as to combine to form an orchestra? It is objected that a notation tends to formalize the composition and to destroy individuality; the point has been noticed earlier but the argument can easily be overstrained: the rigidity is by no means complete for no two performers will play the same piece quite alike, and no one would choose an interpretation contrary to the intentions of the composer and of the composition; the genius of Indian music may allow this freedom without harm and even with advantage but the total stagnation of the art is a high price to pay for the advantage, even if a notation was really bound to destroy it which is by no means established.

India has suffered from the want of any organized teaching, of any determined attempt to develop the art. Hindu ideas of education have generally been directed towards philosophy and religion, the study of Sanskrit and the mastery of metaphysics. England, on the other hand, has developed education on secular lines and has certainly never shown any great interest in music either European or India. Even in the sister art of painting whatever education there has been has been conducted entirely on Western lines. For this the English are not altogether to blame. We have generally allowed the people to go their own way in matters of religion and of the ancient language appertaining to religion. It would have been most unwise to intrude into these provinces of art, whose canons are so evidently at variance with European ideas,

without at least a nucleus of accredited teachers susceptible of organization and such a nucleus does not seem to exist. Hindus have organized schools for the study of the Vedas but music seems to have been left to the isolated and empiric efforts of individual teachers. The worst indictment which can be brought against us is that we have not attempted to show how the study of music might be organized and the art developed, but after all if really Indian music is all that her apologists claim that she is, it is for those who love her and understand her to furnish at least the basis on which to build. We need not adopt the attitude of indifference, the attitude which says "We don't like your music and we don't care what happens to it," but we do and we ought to take up the position which says "We don't understand your music: if we interfere without your guidance we shall only spoil it." Some say the art is decaying: if that is true, the more need there is of revival, and at any rate it cannot be said of any art that it has reached that point of perfection where expansion and development are impossible.

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THE EXTINCTION OF LEPROSY IN INDIA.

BY W. H. P. ANDERSON.

FROM time to time people pause long enough in the absorbing interests of their own lives to notice some wonderful feat of travel or important result of research. The successful working out of a scheme for bettering the social conditions under which thousands of people live in congested parts of big cities, or it may be the sheer persistence of a man devoted to some service of his fellows, compel the attention of the public. Many people know little of the grim tragedy of human lives about them. They would be moved to action if they knew, but they have not had its problems placed before them. Some there are, who are cold and unsympathetic ; they know little and care less about the struggles of the poor and afflicted. We need not seek to analyse their cruel indifference ; they have their reward. On the other hand it is encouraging to note that the conditions of the poor and the handicapped in life are the subject of sympathetic study by a large number of people sincerely desirous of finding a solution of the problem of the unfortunate.

When we observe the poverty and misery which disease causes in India and realize how much of it is preventible, we are appalled and amazed. And yet, there are men and women who do not believe that human sins and ills must ever take their awful toll of health and life, nor that broken lives and wasted bodies are beyond man's power to help.

Foremost among those diseases, which in one form or another have afflicted mankind down through the world's history, is leprosy. What its measure of unspeakable

misery has been, or what of fiendish cruelty it has provoked in the ignorant efforts of men to suppress it, are better unwritten. What is known startles the imagination, fills us with dread and horror of the disease itself, and at the same time stirs us to profound pity for its victims, while we are filled with admiration for every noble endeavour to help and cleanse the leper.

The potent factor in the fight against leprosy is segregation of those afflicted with it. For a number of years, three principal agencies have been employed in segregating lepers, one of these being a combination of the other two. Standing easily first in this work is missionary effort. It is interesting to note how missionary care of lepers commenced and what are its limits. It was in the first instance compassion for the physical condition of the lepers, and the practical expression of its pity was to provide homes, food, and clothing for them, with such alleviation for their sufferings as medical science offered. Those who accepted the help thus given did so voluntarily, and it may be added, most gratefully. The need was great, and the number of the homes, or asylums as they came to be called, increased quickly because of the number of destitute lepers throughout the length and breadth of India who came in their misery to the doors of the missionaries and besought their help. To-day, the work thus commenced and since developed, is responsible for the care of upwards of 4,000 lepers at over fifty places in India. This is the work of the society widely known as the Mission to Lepers. The next important agency in the care of lepers is that of Government, which has several asylums in the different provinces to show for its efforts, some of them being of considerable size and efficiency. The third agency has grown out of the operation of the Lepers Act. This is a legislative measure of sound but limited scope, and not well known and only imperfectly understood by the ordinary citizen. It is sufficient to state here that it is

intended to effect segregation and control of certain pauper lepers and that under its provisions private asylums may be used as places where lepers may be sent under the Act. A fair measure of success has marked this dual working of Government and Missions. The Superintendent of a Mission asylum is given legal authority to receive and detain persistent beggar lepers and frequenters of public streets, bazars, and other places in the areas where the Act has been brought into force. Lepers who are thus compelled to go to a leper asylum soon find that undue restraint is not a factor in their new life. Their status is that of members of a community of similarly afflicted people, but content to live under conditions so favourable to them.

A full meed of praise is due to the work which has been accomplished, but its greatest reward will be in the extension and development of its methods to meet a national need. Even the missionaries, who have been most markedly successful in working amongst lepers and who, apart from alleviating physical suffering, have done so much to remove them from the dread, abhorrence and persecution of their fellowmen, will say, "We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do." The insufficiency of the present means of working lies not in the way of dealing with those it touches, but in the large number it leaves untouched and uncontrolled. To appreciate the meaning of this statement, it must be understood that, up to the present, segregation and care of lepers in India on organized lines is touching only "destitute" and "pauper" lepers, and by no means all of these. A great diseased mass of the population of India is absolutely free to live its own life, to propagate itself, and to infect others or be the cause of infection without restraint and, it is to be feared, without occasioning people generally any appreciable thought of the menace to public health which their diseased condition constitutes.

As a people, whether India be our homeland or the country of our adoption, we have failed to accomplish more because we have regarded the unfortunate subjects of leprosy merely *as* lepers, and not as men, women, boys and girls, for it is unspeakably sad that even the youth of the land bears its awful burden of disease and misery. We ought to be stirred by the infirmities of our fellowmen to humane and practical action. In the middle ages, leprosy prevailed to an alarming extent in Europe and over 20,000 lazar-houses came into existence for the segregation of those who were regarded as the victims of a living death. Leprosy has practically disappeared from Europe. It may be that improved conditions of living had much to do with the diminution of the disease, but the fact remains that the people of Europe did not then, and most certainly would not now, tolerate the existence of leprosy in their midst. Looking to the Hawaiian Islands and to the Philippine Islands, we see the most vigorous measures taken to stamp out the disease. Indian public opinion may not be ready to accept the measures which have been put into operation in these places, but it can be educated to accept and support measures suitable to India. It must always be remembered that nothing short of the ultimate extinction of leprosy in India is the goal we are to strive to reach. We ought to believe that it can be reached if the remedy be made plain and the co-operation of all classes is obtained. The chief thing to keep constantly in mind is, that any movement to successfully deal with people who are lepers must be something which they themselves will accept. If we fail to see their difficulties and solve their problems, if we neglect to consider what would contribute to our own welfare and contentment, were we unfortunately in their place, we shall not come to a workable solution, one which will be workable because the lepers themselves will make it so. With our help they can find life to be a different thing to what a cruel fate has apparently made it. Shall we refuse that help?

The idea proposed is that of a large leper settlement, not a leper prison or detention colony. We must found a settlement, possibly several of them in India, to which lepers will be attracted and where they will find it to be manifestly in their interests to remain, while the stigma attached to mere segregation—very real to some—will be removed. In Western lands, persons affected with tuberculosis go to places where the climate is most favourable to them, and partly because they are conscious that under ordinary conditions they are a source of danger to others. Some relief of mind is afforded, particularly to the sensitive, in knowing that their voluntary seclusion from healthy people is not only in their own best interests, but prevents them being either the cause of fear or offence to others. In something the same way, it is believed that persons afflicted with leprosy would find similar relief and satisfaction in knowing that they were in the place most favourable to their needs.

In outlining this scheme it is well to make plain at the very outset that the writer has no thought of doing away with the agencies already referred to, but rather the scheme is to be a development along the lines of which they afford ample assurance of success. Not only must these existing institutions be continued, but they must be even more generously supported than in the past. They have a distinct work to do and they are doing it splendidly. It has been pointed out, however, that there are a great many lepers, thousands of them, whose need must be met by something on a larger scale, and in some respects on a broader basis than is possible in these excellent institutions.

A settlement means acquisition of land, and a scheme of this kind which is to solve a national problem should be given a corresponding status. Two main needs are apparent. Legislative action is necessary to bring it into existence, while the cost must be borne by Government to make the scheme possible at all.

Whatever arrangements may be decided upon for the administration of such a settlement, it will be absolutely essential to its successful operation that these be on liberal and progressive lines. System and order there must be, but if the interpretation of its administrative requirements is to be based on adherence to fixed departmental ideas the scheme is defeated before it is commenced. Once established, sympathetic and tactful management will ensure continued success. In fact, if this idea be once given form and worked out, it will prove itself to be such a rational and efficient way of meeting the leper problem, that the wonder will be, it was possible to be so long without it. The point to be emphasized here is, that it must be conceived in practical sympathy for the lepers as afflicted human beings, and that if this is absent nothing else can make up for it. The superintending head of this settlement should be invested with magisterial authority because necessarily, in the administration of such a charge, the maintenance of good order and the power to deal with any persons likely to be obnoxious will come within his sphere of duty. He should reside in the settlement and would require a few healthy assistants, but with these exceptions the administering in detail would be done through men selected from the leper population. These would be suitably remunerated for their services. Much of the detail of superintendence would have to be worked out to meet needs as they arise and could not be done successfully beforehand. It is for these reasons that an undertaking of this nature, to a great extent novel in its application to the regulation of lepers, would have to be largely the creation of a person of proved ability in dealing with them.

If the results to be achieved are to fulfil our highest hopes in effecting a solution of a problem which has caused no small concern to officials of Government and to others, we surely shall not be deterred from making the necessary expenditure of money to provide the means of carrying it

out. It is costing annually between three and four lakhs of rupees to care for some 5,000 lepers in existing institutions, working on the most inexpensive basis. Looking at the question from the standpoint of economics, there are over a lakh of lepers in India, a great many of whom are wholly dependent on relatives and friends, or are begging for their subsistence. The economic loss, not only of the support of this infected mass of the population, but also that occasioned by their being a non-productive element, must be something stupendous. This is to say nothing at all of the human misery which figures can never represent, misery made doubly miserable and communicated to innocent children, and also perpetuated in common contact with the healthy. The initial cost will be considerable. A scheme of this kind could not possibly be launched without much expense to begin with. It may be confidently assumed, however, that after the first expenditure or capital outlay, the recurring charge to the public would be comparatively small, and in the resulting benefit to the whole population, of the greatest possible value.

This leads to consideration of what is possible in the way of a leper settlement and in the light of what has already been accomplished. In the first instance the subjects of our thought must be assured that, consistent with hygiene and general morality, their habits and customs are not to be unduly interfered with in the change they are to be asked to make.

The question of allowing lepers to live as married couples is one of much importance. The main reason urged against it is that the children of lepers are subjected to infection from their parents, and that to permit marriage among lepers means propagation of disease. Undoubtedly this is to be feared, but on the other hand there is evidence to show that offspring is not frequent in the case of lepers in the advanced stages of the disease, and we have the assurance of expert knowledge that leprosy is not hereditary. Parents can be induced to

give up their healthy children and these can be saved from infection by the simple method of rearing them in separate homes. We must keep in mind that the intention is to get a substantial proportion of the leper population to live apart from the healthy public, and that no provision exists for them inasmuch as they do not necessarily come within the description of "paupers" or "destitute" lepers. We want these people to leave the villages where they are farming or working at trades, it may be, and to live in a settlement set apart for lepers. We cannot, therefore, say there shall be no married life among them, and in view of what knowledge we have, we need not hesitate to believe that their children will have a much greater chance of being protected from the disease in a settlement than they would away from it.

Agriculture is the natural occupation of a large number of the people of India. It is an occupation which they like, and is most suited to the needs of a leper settlement; where the lepers themselves may be employed in producing a considerable part of their food supply. It is obvious that industries for lepers are limited to the making of things required solely for their own use. We may successfully employ some in weaving cloth, making shoes and clothing, carpentry, basket and mat-making and such like. Forms of employment which consists of the service of others would provide work for dhobies, barbers, cooks, water-carriers, nurses, etc., while teachers, watchmen, herusmen, and others would all be needed.

Those who would come to the settlement should be assured in the first instance of shelter and a minimum provision for their physical needs. Medical care, under qualified superintendence, would be free to all, while those physically unfit to work would have to be treated like the sick and infirm of any well regulated community. To enable the lepers to earn something in excess of the minimum provision for their maintenance, they should be

given work to do and suitably remunerated for it. This would provide them with the means of adding to their comfort and also of contributing to the support of relatives or children who would be dependent upon them under ordinary conditions of living. There will be some who will want only an allotment of land to cultivate, without any participation in the general arrangement for employment. There is no reason why this should not be granted if they make some contribution for the use of the land in return for the benefits of living in the settlement.

In a settlement population there will be diversities of social condition. A man of superior class cannot be expected to live contentedly with one of lower class than himself, especially if the social difference is accentuated by education and refinement on the one side and illiteracy and habits indifferent to order and cleanliness on the other side. They would not mix in ordinary life, and because they are lepers is no reason why they should in new surroundings. The student fresh from his books and conscious of the taint of leprosy in him, the clerk or merchant to whom has come the bitterness of the knowledge that he is afflicted will have different ideas of life than the mere villager and require something more than will satisfy his simple needs. They will ask for a place apart and this should be provided for them in separate communities within the settlement.

Briefly summed up, the scheme proposed is to establish in a suitable part of the country, as a beginning, a largely self-administered and self-supporting colony of leper people who are to follow their natural occupations of life, but apart from the healthy public. It will be an advanced reproduction of the old communal village system containing within it the means of providing profitable and attractive conditions of life now denied to a great number of diseased people. It is novel merely in its application to the segregation of lepers, visionary only in so far as we lack faith and initiative to make the vision a reality,

and impracticable and impossible as we fail to be seriously interested or willing to supply the financial means for putting it into effect. The results and the reward will be the mitigating of the unspeakable misery of thousands of our fellowmen, the saving of little children from infection, the protection of the healthy population, and the benediction of posterity freed from the contaminating presence of the leper and the loathsomeness of leprosy because these dreaded things shall have ceased to be in India.

W. H. P. ANDERSON.

THE HEAVENLY HOOKKA AND THE HISTORY OF TOBACCO.

BY A. F. M. ABDUL HAFEEZ.

IT was Sir Walter Raleigh who brought tobacco from Virginia and introduced it for the first time in the civilized world.* In India tobacco was introduced for the first time during the reign of Emperor Jahangir; it was one of the presents brought from England by the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of Jahangir. The monarch in order to satisfy his curiosity as to what it tasted like had a smoke as soon as the presents were shown to him, but he felt so sick and giddy that he ordered it to be banished from his Court forever. After some time, when he again thought if it, he summoned the physicians of his Court and asked them to examine the leaf and express their opinion on it. These physicians were the inventors of the *hookka*, which is a most simple but scientific contrivance. Sir Morell Mackenzie, the Court Physician of the late Queen Victoria, has written in most eulogistic terms about this useful luxury. Very few people are aware that the pipe-smokers are indebted to Sir Morell Mackenzie for a very simple but ingenious invention called "Mackenzie Cartridges" made of rolled blotting paper, which is inserted inside a pipe, and which not only secures a dry smoke but insures against the poisonous effects of nicotine. These are about 2 inches long and sold in small boxes.

The water in the bowl of the *hookka* is meant to take off the bad effects of the smoke and produce a most cooling and refreshing effect on the brain. A delicious pull does much to allay the restlessness and muscular irritability engendered

* Historians have differed on this point. Some say that the first man to bring it to Europe was the French writer Andre Thenet in 1556, while others assert that the first tobacco was brought to England by Drake.

by mental and physical fatigue. I have seen Indian editors and writers indulging in *hookkas* while engaged in 'serious writing, evidently getting inspiration from the lovely curls of the smoke that at once delights the vision and imagination and proves a solace and comfort to the brain. Sometimes rosewater is used in the bowl in order to render the smoke cool and fragrant. In the olden days the *hookka* was indicative of a man's rank in society. The process of preparing it is very delicate, and none but an expert can handle it so as to produce the desired effect. In the earlier days of British rule in India the highest European officials used to smoke the *hookka*, and the *hookka-bardar* or *hookka* bearer was an important functionary in every household. Even when high European officials used to go out for a walk or *palki* ride, the *hookka-bardar* would walk by their side with a magnificent *hookka*. A glimpse of the social life of those times may be found in that well-known historical novel, *Hartley House Calcutta*.

There is an interesting painting of a British officer in Indian dress which has just been added to the collection at the Victoria Memorial Exhibition at Belvedere. It represents Sir David Ochterlony, the conqueror of Nepal, 1758-1825, leaning against a *kimkhab* cushion, and his right hand holding the stem of a *hookka* pipe. A Munshi is depicted reading a Persian document, while, behind Sir David, a man is shown holding a fly-flap. There is also an oil painting at the Exhibition portraying Colonel Ochterlony as holding an oriental *hookka*.

There are instances of the other side of the picture too. It has long been accepted as a historical fact that Napoleon was a great smoker, but in the *Journal des Debats* reference is made by M. Filon to some memoirs of Napoleon which shows that the Emperor was not only not a smoker but a tobacco-hater. General Bertrand, Napoleon's secretary, says in his unpublished memoirs that the First Consul once tried to smoke the *hookka*, but gave it up after a few pulls at the amber mouthpiece.

I have seen the *late* King Wajid Ali Shah (of Oudh) during his last days in Garden Reach, smoking a big silver *hookka* in his carriage when going out for a drive in the evening on the Strand. I think 50 per cent. of respectable Muhammadan gentlemen who have not adopted Western habits still indulge in that oriental smoke. No wedding or social function is considered complete without this ornamental fixture in the gathering where the sweet-scented tobacco pervades the whole atmosphere. In recent years cigars and cigarettes have practically usurped the place of this oriental smoke. Beside India, the *hookka* is much in evidence throughout the Moslem world in Arabia, Persia, Turkey and Egypt, with slight modifications according to the whims and customs of the place.

A short history of the origin of tobacco will not be uninteresting. Although the fact has been controverted, there cannot be a doubt that the knowledge of tobacco and its uses came to the rest of the world from America. In November 1492 a party sent out by Columbus from the vessels of his first expedition to explore the island of Cuba brought back information that they had seen people who carried a lighted firebrand to kindle fire and perfumed themselves with certain herbs which they carried along with them. The practice of tobacco-chewing was first seen by the Spaniards on the coast of South America in 1502. As the continent of America was opened up and explored, it became evident that the consumption of tobacco, specially by smoking, was universal, and immemorial usage was in many cases bound up with the most significant and solemn tribal ceremonies.

The term tobacco appears not to have been a commonly used original name for the plant, and it has come to us from a peculiar instrument used for inhaling its smoke by the inhabitants of Hispaniola (San Domingo). The instrument consisted of a small hollow wooden tube shaped like a Y the two points of which being inserted

in the nose of the smoker, the other end was held into the smoke of burning tobacco and thus the fumes were inhaled. This apparatus the natives called "tobacco." Benzoni, whose travels in America were published in 1565, says that the Mexican name of the herb was "tobacco." The tobacco plant itself was first brought to Europe in 1558 by Francisco Fernandes, a physician who had been sent by Philip II of Spain to investigate the products of Mexico. The French Ambassador to Portugal, Nicot, rendered valuable services in spreading a knowledge of the plant, which were commemorated in the scientific name of the genus *Nicotiana*. At first the plant was supposed to possess almost miraculous healing powers. While the plant came to Europe through Spain, the habit of smoking it was initiated and spread through English example. Sir Francis Drake brought with him in 1586 the implements and materials of tobacco-smoking which he handed over to Sir Walter Raleigh. Ralph Lane, the first Governor of Virginia, is credited with having been the *first* English smoker, and through the influence and example of the illustrious Raleigh, who "took a pipe of tobacco a little before he went to the scaffold," the habit became rooted among Elizabethan courtiers. During the seventeenth century the indulgence in tobacco spread with marvellous rapidity throughout all nations. It is said that that is the cause of the fall of the most resolute statesmen and priests of that time. Tobacco was first put upon the stage by Ben Johnson in *Every Man in His Humour*, in which Captain Robadil and his men are introduced smoking pipes. The Captain speaks this panegyric of the weed: "It is the most sovereign weed that ever the earth tendered to the use of man." .

According to the numerous investigations and analyses made in the laboratories of the French State tobacco factories, there are about a dozen organic components of tobacco leaves. The properties of certain classes of tobacco render them specially suitable for cigar-making.

Others are best fitted for cigarettes and for smoking in pipes. National tastes and habits frequently determine the destination of tobacco. Heavy, strong and full-flavoured cigars and tobaccos are in favour in the United Kingdom, while on the Continent lighter and brisk-burning qualities are sought after. The materials consumed in the *Qalians* of Persia and the East are not suitable for use in the short pipes of the Western nations. Of cigar tobaccos the most valuable qualities in the world are cultivated in the north-west portion of Cuba. Considerable quantities are exported to Europe and the United States for mixing with commoner qualities to give Havana character to the home-made cigars. Immense quantities of cigar tobacco are exported from Manila, Java and Sumatra. Cigar tobacco is largely cultivated in the Madras Presidency and in Burma.

The Bulletin of the Imperial Institute contains some interesting notes on the cultivation and preparation of Turkish tobacco. Smoking tobacco of the highest quality rivalling indeed the cigar tobacco of Cuba in flavour and value are grown in Turkey and specially in the province of Salonika. Throughout Asiatic Turkey there is an extensive cultivation and export of smoking tobacco. Turkey has become famous for cigarettes. A few words about the history of cigarettes. Originally cigarettes were entirely prepared by the smoker himself; but now that the consumption of cigarettes has attained gigantic proportions, specially in France, they are very largely made with the aid of an elaborate system of automatic machinery. The machines cut the paper, gum its edge, measure out the proper quantity of tobacco, wrap it up, make the gummed edge adhere, and pack the cigarettes.

Sydney Brooks once writing from Havana to the *Daily Mail* said: "I have stood among the tobacco plants as they grow and have seen the leaves cut. I have followed them to the vaults of the factory. The task of selecting these leaves is among the most anxious and delicate in the

whole industry.* It is perfectly right to speak of the dusky Cuban as an artist. Without a mould or a pattern, he turns out from fifty to hundred cigars a day, all identical in shape, size and weight. The exquisiteness of his touch is remarkable."

The physiological effects of tobacco have been a subject of great controversy throughout the world. The influence of tobacco on health and morals has been a much disputed question. On all grounds, except as a medicine, it met the most uncompromising opposition when it first became known. Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, gives strong expression to the two views:—"Tobacco, divine, rare, superexcellent tobacco, which goes far beyond all the panaceas, portable gold, and philosopher's stones, is a sovereign remedy in all diseases. But as it is commonly abused by most men, it is a plague. Hellish, devilish, and damned tobacco—the ruin and overthrow of body and soul." Tobacco in moderation is a good thing. There are many sympathizers with this view, but the difficulty is to define moderation and excess. Among authorities Dr. Jonathan Pereira says:—"I am not acquainted with any well-ascertained ill effects resulting from the habitual practice of smoking." Similarly Sir Robert Christison says:—"To many individuals who use it habitually, the smoke has extraordinary power in removing exhaustion, listlessness and restlessness, especially when brought on by bodily or mental fatigue, and this property is the basis of its general use as an article of luxury." The mollifying effect of this gentle narcotic is now admitted throughout the globe. On the other hand, it is asserted by the opponents of tobacco and by the anti-tobacco societies, that the habitual use of this narcotic leads to decrease of bodily and mental vigour, and produces symptoms of palpitation, intermittent pulse, and other affections of the heart. It is an admitted fact that a disease of the vision is contracted by smokers using strong and heavy preparations. Allowing that such incidental

evils may arise from even comparatively moderate indulgence in tobacco, they are after all as nothing compared to the vast aggregate of gentle exhilaration, soothing and social comfort extracted from the Virginian weed. To smoke a cigar clear to the end is deleterious. No lover of tobacco will relight a cigar if he can avoid it. A cigar or cigarette made of first class tobacco and smoked slowly after meals is the most enjoyable as well as the most healthful. A word about the health value of smoke. The immunity of smokers from many infectious diseases has long been known to medical men. And smoke of many kinds has been used successfully in the treatment of troubles of the throat and chest. It is said that it kills the microbes.

Cigarettes, it is said, are most injurious, chiefly because the temptation to inhale the smoke into the lungs is almost irresistible. Instances are on record where even young boys have contracted the cigarette habit to such an extent that they have consumed about 100 cigarettes a day. Such victims soon die. Even very good cigars, if used to excess, will do much harm. It is held that the late President McKinley smoked so many strong cigars, mostly clear Havana, that his heart action could not withstand the results of the assassin's bullet at Buffalo. President Grant died from cancer of the tongue caused by excessive smoking of strong cigars. A few statistics will prove highly interesting. In 1901 there were 700 crores cigars and 300 crores cigarettes made in the United States. In 1903 the product approached the enormous total, hardly conceivable, of 1,000 crores cigars. Calculating machines are left behind by a Frenchman who at the age of seventy-seven has just died and who kept accounts of what he smoked and drank in 52 years. During these 52 years he bought 628,713 cigars, costing £2,036, and 43,692 cigars were given him by his friends.

Dr. Rama Rao throws some hints on the evil effects of smoking. He says :—“ Never smoke before breakfast

nor when the stomach is empty. Never smoke before or during any exertion of great physical energy such as running, cycling, etc. Never inhale the smoke through the nose. Throw away the cigar or cigarette as soon as four-fifths of it has been smoked. Indian *hookka* is better than any other form of smoking, as the smoke passes through water and thus a large quantity of nicotine is dissolved in it before the smoke reaches the mouth." Assistant Surgeon Baboo Balavant Sing writes, in the *Indian Medical Journal*, a most harrowing account of the evil consequences of smoking tobacco. He says that it "causes timidity, loss of energy and will power, nervousness, trembling, bashfulness, flushing, sleeplessness, lowness of spirits, cramp in various parts, paralysis, blindness, loss of taste, loss of smell, and loss of hearing, specks before the eyes, ringing noises in the ears, sudden attacks of giddiness and heart disease." In his book *In Thackeray's London* Hopkinson Smith says that smoke is a first aid to a novelist. "Duty called me to Thackeray's bed-chamber every morning when I found him up and ready to begin work. Often he would light a cigar and resume his work, as if he gathered fresh inspiration from the gentle odours of the sublime tobacco."

The *Lancet* has given its approval to the generous supply of tobacco to our troops in the field. It remarks:—"We may surely brush aside much prejudice against the use of tobacco when we consider what a source of comfort it is to the sailor and soldier engaged in a nerve-racking campaign. There can be little doubt that tobacco fills an important place in the psycho-physiological affairs of the human race, and that the habit of smoking does something to temper the intensity of the struggle. To the soldier and the sailor in the present war tobacco must be a real solace and joy." Abuse of the habit is of course pernicious, but to quote Huxley: "Anyone could undertake to destroy himself with tea or any other article of diet if carried to excess." It is very pleasing to note that for

the Bengal Volunteer Ambulance Corps a number of Indian firms have generously come forward with gifts of cigars and cigarettes. Reuter telegraphing from Malta early in May refers to Commander Verner of the *Inflexible* who died of wounds. He was struck in the head and his left hand was shattered and the wounds were fatal. Nevertheless he remained cool and continued to smoke his cigarette.

The habitual use of tobacco in early life tends to retard the development of mind and body. The youth who takes to it is both mentally and physically at a disadvantage compared with non-smoking youths. The number of juvenile smokers has alarmingly increased in our city during the last few years. Very cheap cigarettes and *biris* are their favourites. This explains the very large number of cigarette shops in every nook and corner of Calcutta. All classes of servants and labourers indulge in the weed which is a necessary adjunct to *pan-chewing*. A large number of school-going boys are now addicted to this pernicious habit. During the tiffin hour they go to the nearest shop and smoke on the footpath. It is believed that these cheap cigarettes have arsenic in them. Cocaine is sometimes put in the *pan* to impart a peculiar delicious taste—at times strong and stimulating. Field-Marshal Lord Methuen, presiding at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Army Temperance Association, London, in 1913, said that some day there would be the same crusade against smoking as there was now against drinking. Talking of the women who smoke he said: "How public opinion has changed! I remember the time when the very idea of any woman smoking would cause untold disgust in society. If we travelled in France and Germany we saw, to our dismay and surprise, ladies smoking. That is all changed. A woman does not know where to stop. She has a craving for smoking, and you will find many a lady now smoking from morn to night, and doing much harm to her nerves."

Some years ago at the Savoy Hotel, while presiding over a dinner held in aid of the building fund of the Bedford College for Women, Lord Haldane said : "Ladies and gentlemen, you may smoke. I am directed by the large bodies of ladies present to intimate to you that smoking by either sex will not be objected to." Mrs. Asquith and Mrs. Winston Churchill were among the many ladies who immediately lit cigarettes, showing that, however wrong it may be considered in the United States, smoking by ladies in public is permissible in London.

The literature of tobacco is very extensive. From a mass of authorities on the subject it would be vain here to make selections. In the Census Reports of the United States (1883) there are a series of elaborate papers on the cultivation, manufacture and statistics of American tobacco.

I cannot conclude better than in the words of Spencer—

"DIVINE TOBACCO !"

A. F. M. ABDUL HAFEEZ.

Calcutta.

SITES.

A PROBLEM IN EXCISE ADMINISTRATION.

BY HERBERT ANDERSON.

THE location of shops for the vend of intoxicants in a city like Calcutta is a subject of public interest. Many of the problems of Excise Administration are more important, but few of them have occasioned such constant and unavailing criticism during the last ten years. Vendors of intoxicants have always had the choice of the sites of their shops and naturally have selected the most prominent they could secure. The main thoroughfares of the City afford the most suitable locations from the publican's standpoint, while from the temperance standpoint they are the most objectionable because they afford the most direct temptation to all classes of the community. The object of this article is to set forth the conditions as they exist and to suggest the necessity of a radical change that shall affect the location of the present sites throughout the City.

When the Temperance Deputation waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy in December 1912 it dealt with this subject of the location of drink and drug shops in the following paragraph :—

“The problem of sites is a very important factor in encouraging or discouraging consumption. We ask no more than that the Bengal Rule be carried out. It prohibits the presence of shops in a bazaar or at the entrance to a bazaar, or near a bathing ghat, school, hospital, place of worship, workshop or tea garden, or in the interior of a village. Most other Provincial Administrations have a similar counsel of perfection as to sites of licensed premises, which are broken in both letter and spirit in innumerable cases. The problem is to meet the just demand of the moderate drinker without encouraging the

habit among those who do not drink. In our Presidency Cities departmental rules as to location are broken in from 20 to 40 per cent. of cases, and the authorities reply that their attempts to secure sites to which the rules would apply always end in insuperable difficulties, so that the present objectionable sites have to be retained. Our reply has been that if the site itself is against rules and objectionable for that reason, the license should be revoked until a proper site is forthcoming. We would respectfully ask your Excellency to suggest to all Provincial Governments that the prescribed rules regarding sites must be observed."

In his reply, the Viceroy said :—

"With regard to your complaint that drink and drug shops are occasionally located on undesirable sites, I would remind you that instructions have already been issued to the local authorities to adhere as closely as possible to the rules which have been laid down on the subject, and I see no reason to doubt that this will lead to the gradual abandonment of undesirable sites in the future."

The Government of Bengal divested itself of the greater part of the responsibility in its generous determination to create Licensing Boards, and the first of these Boards was appointed by notification No. 1812 S. R. on the 11th November, 1913, for Calcutta "to determine the number of Excise Shops and their location in the Calcutta Municipality."

The first opportunity of dealing with the subject to any full extent was in October 1914, when the number and location for the triennial period 1915-1918 had to be dealt with. Meanwhile the Commissioner of Excise had approached the Government with a proposal that meant a very large reduction in the number of licenses for both country and foreign spirits and drugs, by an alteration in the system which prohibited the use of the same premises for the sale of both foreign and country liquor, a system condemned by the Indian Excise Committee and always viewed with disfavour by temperance workers. The Government approved of the experiment being made and the Board was approached suggesting that it would

be impossible to give effect to the proposals if any further reduction was at present made in the number of sites. If after the scheme has been given a fair trial it was found that the number of shops of any kind was unnecessarily large and that it can be reduced without causing undue congestion in the remainder, this would be done. The Board including the representative of the Temperance Federation accepted the plan as a basis of its deliberations. The Federation Representative put in a statement, however, calling attention to its long contention that the instructions of the Government on the location of sites, especially in regard to country liquor shops, should be more satisfactorily dealt with, and recommended the transfer of ten of those that were the most flagrant violation of departmental rules on the subject. In the end five of the ten have been transferred to other and less objectionable sites.

Temperance workers may ask the question, If the sites of shops have now been settled for three years what is the necessity or advantage of any further consideration? My answer is threefold. *First*, the location of shops, whether of drinks or drugs, is of great practical importance to temperance workers. It localized the areas of the traffic, suggests where temperance meetings and activities are especially needed, brings home to the civic authorities the conditions as they affect the industrial centres of the City's life, and when studied and grasped in broad outline sets forth the amount of work that has to be carried through before the people of Calcutta generally may be said to be on the side of total abstinence. *Secondly*, only a careful study of the locations as they now prevail will bring home to the temperance worker and civic authority the thoroughly unsatisfactory conditions as they still exist and in the main may have to exist for the next three years. This fact is all the more surprising as the Government of Bengal appointed a Committee of Investigation in 1907 which reported that most of the sites of

shops in Calcutta were open to one or other of five objections, too close proximity to other shops, too prominent positions, too contiguous to schools, etc., unsuitably constructed and possessed of private quarters or back doors. The Committee pointed out, however, as I have stated above, that under present circumstances the licensing authority is at the mercy of the vendors because suitable sites in the proximity of the present shops are not obtainable. It is in my judgment most desirable that all interested in Temperance Reform should have firsthand knowledge of the location of the present drink and drug shops in the City that they may know how unsatisfactory the great majority of the sites are. It has also to be remembered that occasions do arise for further action during the period of a license. If the licensee breaks the conditions of his license he can be dealt with. The Calcutta Improvement Trust may cause many changes during the next three years and it may be that the influence of drastic legislation in the House of Commons on the drink traffic will not be without its effect throughout India. There are no vested interests in the drink trade in India and the Local Government has the power to close every shop in this City within a month, by certain payments to the vendors, if they desire to do it. *Thirdly*, the study of present conditions cannot but lead to the view that some change of policy is essential before the next licensing period comes round. When a liquor vendor purchases the right of vend at the Auction Sale, the duty of finding a site, either the old one or another in the immediate neighbourhood, is left with him. Moreover he naturally keeps or seeks the most prominent site for his business and is not particular on its adaptability to the conditions of his trade. Things being so bad it is perfectly clear that temperance workers must face the question with a view to their alteration. What is needed is an authority who shall acquire suitable sites and erect suitable buildings, bringing each individual place under the following general

characteristics. It shall only be where a *bona fide* demand exists. It shall not be on a crowded thoroughfare nor on a corner site. It shall not be within quarter or, as we should prefer, half a mile of another site. It shall not be in a residential neighbourhood, nor where its existence causes annoyance. It shall not be near bathing ghats, marketplaces, squares, schools, hospitals, places of worship or factories. It shall be so far public that persons entering it should not escape observation but it shall be such as to render supervision easy. As to the buildings themselves, they should be large, airy, clean, on one floor, well ventilated, easily inspected and without opportunities for secluded drinking or illicit sales. In almost all details the above characteristics are principles laid down by Provincial Governments or recommended by Committees Government has itself appointed. I do not know how far other temperance workers would agree with me, it is a subject for careful consideration and frank discussion, but we have been driven to the conclusion that we should be guided by the interests of Temperance Reform and check on widespread consumption if we come to terms on the question of the authority to decide future locations. The Government of Bengal would for example entrust the present Licensing Board to revolutionize the present sites of Calcutta shops by seeing that they came under the abovementioned conditions and would give them the necessary powers for carrying out that instruction, I should be ready to accept a share of the responsibility as representing the temperance interests of this City. If it were thought too drastic a proposal to apply such a policy all round, a dozen of the sites requiring most urgent removal might be taken as an experiment. I cannot think of any other way of carrying out the Viceroy's instructions and bringing sites and buildings into conformity to the rules.

Our first duty is to get a general idea of the total facilities for the vend of drinks and drugs offered to the public

of Calcutta and Suburbs. Including those in the suburban areas of Cossipore, Manicktolla and Garden Reach there are 62 country liquor shops, 42 tari liquor shops, 22 restaurants and bars, 9 shops for the sale of foreign, *i.e.*, imported, liquor on the premises and 62 shops for the sale of foreign liquor off the premises—a total of 197 liquor licenses. Adding to these the licenses for intoxicating drugs, 37 for Ganja, 32 for Opium, 14 for Siddhi and 3 for Charas—a total of 86—we reach a grand total of 283 licenses disposed of by Government this year. 28 of the drug licenses, none of which are for consumption on the premises, are granted for sale at the same site as other drugs. In this way there are only 63 sites for the disposal of 86 different drug licenses. So the total of sites for Calcutta and Suburbs is 260.

It will further help our purpose to examine the disposal of these sites according to the Ward Areas of the City. But one caution is necessary. The number of shops in a Ward does not always signify the drinking or drug-taking habits of that Ward accurately. One or two of the sites will probably be upon the boundary of the Ward and may meet the demand of an area outside its own recognized boundaries. Yet speaking broadly the number does suggest the prevalence of drinking and drug-taking in different parts of the City. The following table shows the Ward distribution of Licenses :—

Ward.		Population 1911.	Drink Licenses.	Drug Licenses.	Total.
I	...	53,036	8	7	15
II	...	33,073	2	4	6
III	...	54,610	3	3	6
IV	...	48,112	6	...	6
V	...	52,114	5	3	8
VI	...	59,541	9	7	16
VII	...	30,495	12	6	18
VIII	...	57,094	9	9	18
TOTALS		388,075	54	39	93

Ward.	Population 1911.	Drink Licenses.	Drug Licenses.	Total.
Brought forward	388,075	54	39	93
IX	63,362	4	5	9
X	25,014	7	2	9
XI	29,966	3	.....	3
XII	6,284	18	...	18
XIII	28,436	22	5	27
XIV	32,112	7	...	7
XV	11,385	2	.....	2
XVI	5,294	4	.	4
XVII	3,125	.....	...	...
XVIII	5,550	1	...	1
XIX	45,072	10	2	12
XX	37,881	9	5	14
XXI	39,952	7	3	10
XXII	54,569	10	7	17
XXIII	19,749	3	2	5
XXIV	21,869	4	1	5
XXV	43,806	14	8	22
Suburban Area	147,240	18	7	25
GRAND TOTALS	1,008,741	197	86	283

The following interesting facts emerge. There is only one Ward that has no facilities of any kind whatever—Ward XVII, running between Theatre Road and Lower Circular Road, the present Ward Commissioner of which is Mr. S. Ghose. We congratulate the Commissioner and the inhabitants upon this unique distinction and hope it may one day share its glory with several other Wards. Ward XVIII, the island of Hastings, has only one license, a foreign liquor for consumption on the premises. Ward XX has only two licensed places, one a bottle retail off license and the other a combined license for foreign liquor. This too is a good record. Passing from a consideration of the best to the worst, Ward XIII takes the palm as the Ward giving most facilities for the sale of drink and drugs, twenty-two of the former and five of the latter—27 in all. A detailed examination of the different sites in this Ward shows it to be the thirstiest spot in Calcutta. Though in the heart of the European business section, south of Dhurrumtollah, it has three

country liquor shops, the most celebrated liquor shop for drinking foreign liquor on the premises, eight bar or restaurant licenses, four licenses for retail sale of foreign liquor, six licenses for the wholesale or retail sale of the same, two licenses for the sale of Ganja, two for the sale of Opium and one for Siddhi. It would be hard to justify such a crowd of facilities in one Ward on any basis of population. But it is fair also to say that the Ward contains most of the hotels and theatres, and that alone makes a great difference in any comparison with other Wards of the city. The next worst Ward is XXV, Kidderpore. A shipping and industrial area it has no less than twenty-two facilities for pandering to its drink and drug habits, fourteen licenses for drink and eight for drugs. There must be more actual drinking here than in Ward XV for there are five country liquor shops and five tari shops as well as one bar, one shop for drinking foreign liquor on the premises and two retail shops to supply the neighbourhood with foreign liquor. After Ward XXV come Wards VII and VIII which must bear the unenviable reputation of being the least abstemious Wards in the North of the City, having nineteen licenses each. Ward VII has twelve facilities for drinking and six for drug-taking. Ward VIII has nine of each, Ward XXII has seventeen, Ward VI sixteen, Ward I fifteen, Ward XX fourteen and so on with 9, 8, 7, 6, 5 to those we have already considered. Counting the Suburban Areas as one, the average for each Ward should be about eleven, on the basis of the total of two hundred and eighty-three granted for the City. A Ward examination of the communities and population in accord therewith will probably confirm the general conclusions come to by the Calcutta Temperance Federation after its examination of the same subject in 1905. While the chief drinking classes are Beharis, Kahars, Chamars, Moochies and similar castes, the high caste drinker has been steadily on the increase, while where the shops are in districts in which the large proportion

are Muhammadans this community is indulging somewhat freely. For purposes of record it may be well to set forth a detailed list of* all licenses granted for the sale of liquors only—country, foreign and tari in each Ward. They are as follows :—

Ward.	Country Spirit	Tari	For Liquor On.	Bar or Rest.	F. L.* Off R.	F. L.† Off C.	Total.	Ward.
I	5	1		...	2		8	I
II	1		1	.			2	II
III	1	1			1	..	3	III
IV	3	2	..	.	1		6	IV
V	5			..		.	5	V
VI	3	1	1	..	4	..	9	VI
VII	1		1	2	2	6	12	VII
VIII	2	2	2	..	2	1	9	VIII
IX	2	1	1		..		4	IX
X	2	1		1	1	2	7	X
XI	..			1	...	2	3	XI
XII				6	1	11	18	XII
XIII	3		1	8	4	6	22	XIII
XIV	3	2	.	..	1	1	7	XIV
XV	..		..		1	1	2	XV
XVI				1	1	2	4	XVI
XVII	..			..				XVII
XVIII	..	..	1		...		1	XVIII
XIX	4	3			3		10	XIX
XX	4	5	...	.	...		9	XX
XXI	2	4			1		7	XXI
XXII	6	2		1	1		10	XXII
XXIII	1	1		1			3	XXIII
XXIV	1	2			1	..	4	XXIV
XXV	5	5	1	1	2		14	XXV
Suburban Areas	8	9		1		...	18	Suburban Areas
Total	62	42	9	22	30	32	197	Total

and upon the basis of this detailed list we proceed to examine the arrangement of sites for each class of drink and drug.

COUNTRY SPIRIT SHOP LOCATIONS.

As we have already seen there are sixty-two country liquor shops in Calcutta and Suburbs. A large proportion

* Foreign Liquor Off Retail. † Foreign Liquor Off Combined and Wholesale

of them are on main thoroughfares and prominent sites, thus being a constant source of temptation to the passerby.

54. 2/5 Prankrishna Mookerjee St.
55. 114 Cossipore Road.
56. 40 Cossipore Road.
57. 27 Barrackpore Trunk Road.
58. 1/1 Manicktolla Road.
59. 128 Manicktolla Main Road.
60. 158 Narcoldanga Road.
61. 15 Belliaghatta Road.
62. 1/1/2 Chingrihatta Road.

the Manicktolla Municipal Area all are on main thoroughfares.

Of the fifty-four shops in Calcutta proper there is

1. 8-9 Ramsebak Mullick Lane
2. 2 Darmahatta Street.
3. 1 Sovaram Bysak Lane.
5. 64 Strand Road

a group of four shops in the neighbourhood of Darmahatta.

Of these two at 2 Darmahatta

Street and 64 Strand Road are on main thoroughfares.

6. 199 Upper Chitpore Road.
7. 155/3 Upper Chitpore Road.
8. 354 Upper Chitpore Road.
9. 76 Upper Chitpore Road.
10. 28 Banstolla Street.
11. 85 Colootolla Street.
12. 12/141/44 Lower Chitpore Road.
13. 64 Bentinck Street.

The Chitpore-Bentinck Street route comes next with eight shops. All but one of these is on the main thoroughfare, and that on No. 12 141/44 Lower

Chitpore Road is snugly situated on the side of a large bazaar. When the Federation examined this thoroughfare in 1905 there were thirteen country liquor shops on this same route.. To have reduced them by five is satisfactory.

17. 112 Collin Street.
20. 5-6 Wellesley Street.
21. 4 Wellington Street.
25. 80/1 Cornwallis Street.

The Cornwallis, College, Wellington and Wellesley Street route has three out of four

shops on the main route.

The Circular Road Upper and Lower has seven shops

26. 218 Upper Circular Road
27. 148 Upper Circular Road
28. 102 Upper Circular Road.
32. 296 Upper Circular Road.
29. 149/2/6 Bowbazar Street.
30. 114 Dhurumtollah Street
39. 47 Karaya Bazar Road.

all upon this thoroughfare, though the Licensing Board has ordered the removal of two of them, 218 Upper Circular Road and 102 Upper Circular Road,

to less prominent sites within the next few months.

On these four main routes we find that nineteen shops out of twenty-three are from the temperance point of

view directly encouraging drinking and to that extent against the avowed policy of the Government of India. In addition to the North and South routes let us take the roads running East and West, taking care not to count any shop twice if it stands at a corner site and has already been dealt with.

- 4. 24/1 Nimtolla Ghat Street.
- 14. 30 Chandney Choke Street.
- 16. 75 Free School Street.
- 18. 84/1 Ripon Street.
- 19. 30 Doctor's Lane.
- 22. 122 Bowbazar Street.
- 23. 117 Machoa Bazar Street.
- 24. 117 Manicktolla Street.
- 31. 14 Ultadingi Road.

Of a group of nine, six are on main thoroughfares, *viz.*, those on Nimtolla Ghat Street, Free School Street, Bowbazar Street, Machoa Bazar Street, Manicktolla Street and Ultra-

dingi Road.

If we now examine the remaining suburban shops to the East of the Circular Road Boundary, of which there are seven, those on Munshi Bagan Road, South Road and Karaya Bazar Road are on prominent

sites:

- 33. 4 Munshi Bagan Road
 - 34. 2/3 Bibi Bagan Lane.
 - 35. 39 South Road, Entally.
 - 36. 2 Pool Bagan Road.
 - 37. 1/1 Tiljala Road.
 - 38. 1, Jannagore Road.
 - 40. 103 Karaya Bazar Road.
- Now we must pass on to the South of the Town to find conditions very much of the same character though in comparison with past years there has been some improvement. Of a group of eight

shops, seven of which are in Ward XX, six may be said to be on main routes. These include the only country liquor shop that can give itself an aristocratic address on Chowringhee Road, No. 80, and shops on Russa Road, 89, Kalighat Road, 164, Sakaripara Road, 67, Harish Chatterji Street, 34/2, and Tollygunge Road, 20/1.

Of the group of six shops in the Kidderpore section all of them are on main thoroughfares, such as the Budge Budge, Watgunge, Garden Reach and Circular

- 41. 40/1 Beltolla Road.
- 15. 80 Chowringhee Road
- 43. 89 Russa Road.
- 44. 164/4 Kalighat Road.
- 42. 67 Sakaripara Road.
- 45. 34/2 Harish Chatterji Street
- 46. 20/1 Tollygunge Road.
- 47. 51 Chetla Hat Road.
- 48. 1 Budge Budge Road.
- 49. 50/1 Watgunge Road.
- 50. 32 Watgunge Road.
- 51. 72/7 Garden Reach Road
- 52. 94 Circular Garden Reach Road.
- 53. 101 Circular Garden Reach Road.

Garden Reach Road. We are now in a position to sum up and say that of the sixty-two sites in Calcutta and Suburbs where people drink country liquor the last licensing settlement has permitted forty-eight of them to occupy position on main roads or important thoroughfares. And in this connection I would urge what Dr. Mann on behalf of the Federation urged ten years ago that we do not wish shops to be located in back streets and lanes where they would be inaccessible to consumers or difficult of inspection ; but we do think that to permit them to stand year after year in some of the busiest thoroughfares and most prominent sites in the City is inconsistent with Government policy, civic welfare and the personal comfort of the very large section of the community which does not drink.

COUNTRY LIQUOR SHOPS IN WARD AREAS.

Let us now examine the distribution of country liquor shops according to Ward areas. There are six Wards within the boundaries of which no country liquor is found. Needless to say these comprise the European section which is swadeshi enough to prefer its own imported spirits. The Wards are XI, XII, XV, XVI, XVII and XVIII. There are three Wards with only one shop each, VII, XXIII and XXIV. There are six Wards with two shops each, II, III, IV, IX, X and XXI. There are four Wards with three each, VI, VIII, XIII and XIV. Three Wards with four shops each, I, XIX and XX. Two Wards which share the distinction of having five shops in each are V and XXV. And the Ward which has the largest number is the Kalighat and Bhowanipore Ward. The prevalence of several facilities in any single Ward area gives food for thought and suggests another helpful field of investigation. To what extent does the presence of a grog-shop mark a neighbourhood which is undesirable in other respects ? The Federation has not been able by personal investigation to test this matter, but the contiguity of moral plague spots and disorderly houses to liquor shops needs examination. It would be interesting to try and trace

whether shops have been put down where a neighbourhood is already undesirable, or whether the establishment of a shop has tended to degrade the character of its immediate neighbourhood. Probably both alternatives are partly true. Whatever be the condition to-day as to the contiguity of grogshops to the moral plague spots of the city, it is many years since a new shop in a new area has been licensed. Anyone acquainted with the real conditions wonders how much longer Civic Authorities and Government are going to permit the conditions that are to be seen any evening in some parts of the City. If illicit sales are one of the main and most difficult problems of Excise Administration surely it would be wise to deal with the moral plague spots as one method of really controlling the liquor drinking of Calcutta.

THE AVERAGE MONTHLY CONSUMPTION IN SHOPS.

Although not directly connected with the subject of sites the consumption that goes on in gross gallons at each site bears upon the character and habits of the neighbourhood. By the favour of the Commissioner of Excise we have received the last, published returns under this head. It shows that the average monthly reported consumption in 1913-14 varied in quantity from 1,070 gallons at 175, Bowbazar Street, No. 22 (removed at the recent settlement to 122, Bowbazar Street) to a monthly consumption of only 59 gallons at the shop No. 62 at 1/1/2 Chingrihatta Road. From the view of the temperance work it may be well to have a record of the shops at which a consumption of more than four hundred gallons per mensem take place. A glance at the list will show that the shops that sell the most have the

No.	Place.	Gallons.
22.	175 Bowbazar Street	1,070
29.	149/2/6 Bowbazar Street	885
7.	155/3 Upper Chitpore Road	843
1.	8/9 Ramsebak Mullick Lane	765
16.	75 Free School Street	680
21.	4/16, 17 Wellington Street	607
50.	32 Watgunge Road	606
2.	2 Darmahatta Street	589
8.	354 Upper Chitpore Road	579
26.	218 Upper Circular Road	576
4.	24/1 Nimtolla Ghat Street	561
9.	76 Upper Chitpore Road	543
5.	64 Strand Road	506
15.	80 Chowringhee Road	498
53.	101 Circular Garden Reach Road	464
12.	12/141/44 Lower Chitpore Road	459
20.	8 Wellesley Street	443
23.	76 College Street	434
49.	50/1 Watgunge Road	433
43.	54/2 Russa Road	429
33.	4 Munshi Bazar Road	427

most* prominent locations. The Federation would have liked to have changed the location of ten of these twenty-one shops but the Licensing Board was not prepared for even such a mild attack upon the prominent sites of Calcutta grogshops. While on this subject and to return for a moment to the question of Ward facilities for country liquor drinking, it must be understood that the number of shops in a Ward does give the standard of consumption that has been attained. Ward XXII with the maximum of six shops drank an average of 1,941 gallons per month, while Ward V with five shops reached the record for that year by a monthly consumption of 2,410 gallons. Ward IX with just the two shops in Bowbazar consumed more by fourteen gallons than Ward XXII with its six shops, reaching the high total of 1,955. I will not go into further detail save to say that Ward XXV, the Kidderpore Area, with five shops, recorded a total consumption of 1,759 gallons monthly. Ward VIII, with three shops, a total consumption of 1,329 gallons, Ward I with four shops a total of 1,294 gallons and Ward XIII with three shops a consumption of 1,289 gallons, all per mensem.

This whole question of consumption is a very serious one when it is remembered that out of the total consumption of country liquor for the Presidency in 1913-14, amounting to 823,063 gallons L. P., the quantity consumed in Calcutta inclusive of the suburb and the towns of Howrah and Bally was 307,175—more than one-third. In consequence Calcutta contributes almost one-half of the total revenue from country spirits.

It will also doubtless be of interest although bearing only in an indirect way upon the subject of sites to be told what vendors are prepared to pay for their license to sell. We must confess to our astonishment on learning that a single shop will pay as much as Rs. 1,820 per mensem for its license to sell. This figure was obtained for the shop at 354 Upper Chitpore Road, opposite

Beadon Square. The average consumption month by month from that shop was not nearly so large as from some others which suggests some mystery of management I do not pretend to be able to solve. Those who are competent to express an opinion suggest that the key to the mystery is in dilution of spirit which is permitted in Calcutta and short measure in bottles, which is not.

A few other high prices paid for the license fee are

No.	Place	Rs.
8.	354 Upper Chitpore Road	1,820
22.	122 Bowbazar Street	1,800
7.	155-3 Upper Chitpore Rd.	1,465
21.	4 Wellington Street	1,447
20.	5 Wellesley Street	1,434
29.	149 Bowbazar Street	1,400
1.	8-9 Ramsebak Mullick Ln	1,380
10.	28 Banstolla Street	1,355

noted in the margin, and they run down the scale until lot No. 62 at 1 Chingrihatta Road is reached for which a paltry Rs. 250 per mensem was obtained. When it is remem-

bered that the cost of the spirit and exorbitant rents for premises have to be paid in addition to this license one wonders what the profits really are.

LOCATION OF SHOPS NEAR SCHOOLS, ETC.

So far we have not discussed the location of country liquor shops, that is, if situated near to bazaars, schools or such places as under regulation should not be permitted. The first rule says a shop should not be in or at the entrance of a market. I went casually over the list and found that fifteen shops, if not actually in, or at the entrance, were near enough to bazaars to be objectionable. The second rule says no shop should be in close proximity to a bathing ghat, school, hospital, place of worship, factory or other place of public resort. Some of our workers might make this a subject of investigation. Such proximity is extremely common, but nothing has been done by Educational or other authorities to show in a full and accurate table in what respect each of the sixty-two shops in Calcutta and Suburbs breaks the rule of the Excise Department regarding the educational aspect of location.

One other point which brings us to the conclusion of the problem of the country liquor shop locations. The structural arrangements of the country spirit shops of

Calcutta are as unsatisfactory as their sites are prominent. There are exceptions but speaking generally facilities for secluded drinking are the rule and not the exception. The shops are not particularly airy, clean or well ventilated. In some the sanitary conveniences are not sanitary at all, and it is true of very few of them that the main entrance affords the opportunity for an inspection of the premises at a glance. Seventy-five per cent. of the present premises need rebuilding. But as I have already urged the only hope is for some authority to be appointed which shall be able to remove most of the shops from their present sites and see that those which take their place are erected structurally satisfactory in sanitary and all other particulars.

We have gone so fully into country liquor shop matters that we must deal with the other subjects much more briefly. I hold the country liquor problem to be the most serious. To solve it would be to solve the rest.

THE TARI SHOPS.

Let us now turn for a few moments to the Tari Shops of Calcutta. There are forty-two of them mostly on the outskirts of the City. Their sites are not prominent, except on the Upper and Lower Circular Road route, where there are five of them. No record of consumption is kept but the licenses paid for the right of vend are some index of the probable consumption whether heavy or light, and indirectly of the character of the immediate neighbourhood of the shop. The highest monthly fee paid is as much as Rs. 655, while the lowest sum is Rs. 31 per

	Rs.	
4. 35 Harinbari Lane	655	menssem. The few shops that pay the highest fees and where most <i>tari</i> drinking occurs are in the heart of the Northern Section of the town in the areas of Colootola, Machoa Bazar and Bara Bazar. The shops are mainly on the side of
2. 1/1 Machoa Bazar Street	500	
3. 125 Machoa Bazar Street	496	
5. 39 Princep Lane	386	
10. 295 Upper Circular Road	375	
11. 301 Upper Circular Road	312	
39. 14 Kassi Busti Lane	320	
6. 33/13 Corporation Street	265	
1. 155/1 Upper Chitpore Road	240	
19. 188 Lower Circular Road	240	
14. 3 Fool Bagan Road	228	
27. 2 Circular Garden Reach Rd.	225	
15. 51 South Road, Entally	224	

broad roads, most of the drinking goes on in the open air. If the half a dozen we have recently visited may be taken as samples of the rest, most of the buildings are only tiled huts with no pretence at doing more than supplying space on the bare earth for drinkers to congregate and drink. 'The Ward distribution of *tari* shops is very unequal. There are ten Wards without a single shop, *viz.*, II, V, VII, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XVI, XVII and XVIII. Six Wards have only one shop in each. They are I, III, VI, IX, X and XXIII. Five Wards have two shops each, IV, VIII, XIV, XXII and XXV. Ward XIX has three shops, Ward XXI four shops, while the remaining two Wards, XX and XXV, have the maximum of five shops each. It will be noticed therefore that seventeen of the forty-two shops are to be found in four Wards, and there is clear scope for temperance effort among *tari* drinkers in Wards XIX, XX, XXI and XXV.

FOREIGN LIQUOR SHOPS.

There are nine foreign liquor shops where that commodity can be drunk on the premises. Previously to the settlement of this year the plan was for certain of the country liquor shops to have a subsidiary license to sell imported liquors. That system has been abolished and in place of fifty-seven such subsidiary licenses in Calcutta and Howrah, these nine have been established with two for Howrah. The alleged object of their establishment is that in the localities concerned there is a certain section of the Indian middle classes who require a source of legitimate supply of imported liquor and these shops have been opened for their benefit as well as to meet, apart from licensed bars and restaurants, the demand of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Chinamen and others who are not in the habit of taking country liquor. As an experiment in Excise Administration we shall watch this scheme for the separation of vend of country spirit and foreign liquor with close attention, especially with

a view to learn how far the Indian community really require this special kind of consideration.

The nine shops in Calcutta are noted in the margin.

1. 1 Middle Road, Hastings.
2. 153 Radha Bazar Street.
3. 124 Upper Chitpore Road.
4. 60 Lower Chitpore Road.
5. 270 Bowbazar Street.
6. 1 Dhurumtollah Street.
7. 196 Cornwallis Street.
8. 35 Upper Circular Road.
9. 117 Circular Garden Reach Road.

The sites are all prominent on main thoroughfares. They include the famous No. 1 Dhurumtollah Street which is reputed to be the resort of the loafers of Calcutta, being

known in the slang of that community as "the Cathedral." A few days ago with a friend we visited most of these new shops in a single afternoon. They had only been established a fortnight and with the exception of No. 1 Dhurumtollah, which was doing a roaring trade, the mouths of most of the vendors were full of complaints. They said their sales were not sufficient to recoup them for what they had paid for their license. Many of their customers wanted to take away part of their drinks and the difficulty of stopping drunkenness without a row had been experienced. One vendor said that in his area foreign spirits were too expensive for the Indian middle classes and he feared he had given too much for his license. Our temperance workers have a small but interesting field of investigation in regard to these nine localities. We should get to know who drink foreign spirits, their nationality, religion and caste, when they drink, what they drink and how far these sites are used by soakers, or casuals.

As to the distribution of these foreign liquor shops by Wards, Ward VII has two of them. The other Wards favoured with this style of shop are II, VI, VII, IX, XIII, XVIII, XXV.

BAR AND RESTAURANT LICENSES.

The bar and restaurant licenses are meant to meet the demand of the European community. The only exception appears to be the Eastern Bengal State Railway Hotel at 128 Lower Circular Road, to which Indians more than Europeans go. There are twenty-two of these

licenses and the great majority of them are located in Wards XII and XIII, the former having six and the latter eight. There are sixteen Wards without any such license. Ward VII has two and Wards X, XI, XVI, XXII, XXIII, XXV one each. It is very doubtful whether so many licenses of this description are necessary in Chowringhee. The cold weather demand is of course very much greater than at any other time of the year. But we doubt whether any British Licensing Authority would grant so many facilities in so close an area. Further in reference to bar and hotel licenses it is desirable to stop the practice of signing for drinks except for such as are taken with a meal. Intemperance would be greatly reduced if this simple precaution against unlimited consumption were adopted. More than one instance of ruination has been dealt with by us personally that could be traced directly to signing for liquors. If it is not permitted in London why should it be allowed in Calcutta? The least that should be done is that no debts for drink run into by signing at the bars and restaurants of the city should be recoverable by law.

FOREIGN LIQUOR OFF LICENSES.

With the Foreign Liquor Off Licenses there is no drinking on the premises, but they are convenient for those wanting liquor in their own homes. As already mentioned there are thirty single retail Foreign Liquor Off licenses and thirty-two Foreign Liquor Off Combined licenses. The latter are largely business firms supplying both the local and mofussil trade. The former supply the neighbourhood. It is a slight index of the extent to which Indians are taking to the drinking of imported liquors when we note that nine shops are so situated that they

12. 204 Cornwallis Street.
13. 9-2 Beadon Street.
15. 145 Upper Chitpore Road.
16. 89 Upper Chitpore Road.
17. 160 Machoa Bazar Street.
21. 76 Machoa Bazar Street.
27. 108-1 Grey Street.
22. 129-1 Cornwallis Street.
30. 2 Cossipore Road.

must be mainly for supplying such a demand. These are in Cornwallis Street, Beadon Street, Machoa Bazaar Street, Grey Street and Cossipore Road. This subject also should

be looked into to see how far such a supposition would be borne out by the facts. It seems unnecessary to deal further with the Ward aspect of these shops. The presence of eleven combined licenses in Ward XII implies that it is the chief business centre for the whole City, six combined licenses in Wards VII and XIII imply the same thing. The single retail licenses are very widely and evenly distributed, no less than ten out of seventeen Wards having only one shop in each. There are eight Wards without a single retail license and sixteen without a single combined license.

LICENSES FOR INTOXICATING DRUGS.

We had intended to deal with the sites of the various drug shops whether Ganja, Opium, Siddhi or Charas, and attempting to gather where in our marvellous City the communities reside who are addicted to these bad habits. Drug-taking is a serious problem in the North of the town, though taking the City as a whole very large areas appear to be immune. There are eighty-six licenses for the sale of all drugs. These are sold from sixty-three different sites. In Calcutta and Suburbs there are thirty-seven licenses for Ganja, thirty-two for Opium, fourteen for Siddhi and three for Charas. For those unacquainted with these intoxicants, let us say Ganja is the flowering tops, green or dried, of the female hemp plant which have become coated with resin in consequence of being unimpregnated and therefore unable to set seeds freely. Opium is the juice of the poppy with preparations and admixtures made therefrom. Siddhi or Bhang consists of the dried leaves of the hemp plant, whether male or female, and Charas is the resinous matter formed on the flowering tops of the female hemp plants and collected separately. Wards V, VI, VII, VIII and IX comprise a very bad drug area, no less than thirty out of eighty-six licenses being located there. The European Wards are remarkably free, there being no places of vend in seven of them, *viz.*, Wards XI, XII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII and XVIII. As

in the case of drink, so in the case of drugs, the industrial areas show up worst. Ward VIII has nine facilities, almost all on its boundaries. Ward XXV has eight. Wards I, VI and XXII have seven licenses each. We would urge temperance workers to specialize on this subject of the drug habits of Calcutta. It is an almost unknown field of investigation. One has only to take the motto FIND OUT and apply it persistently, wisely, and for a purpose, to each of the drug habits we have mentioned.

In conclusion we need not reiterate the plea urged here and there through the course of this paper, that there is practical temperance work to be done in Calcutta for any and all ready to undertake it. The Federation should take up a special campaign amongst the Moderate Consumers of both drinks and drugs. Why should not the Calcutta Temperance Federation get out half a dozen temperance leaflets, a few bold statements about drinking and drug-taking and circulate them by the hundred and thousand especially where our examination has shown the need. It was recently suggested in a letter to the *Times*, that one method that had given so magnificent a response to the need of soldiers was the placard and tract policy. Advertisement wisely adopted creates public opinion and prepares the way, for action. "There is a tide in the affairs of man which, taken at its flood, leads on to fortune." To-day is such a tide in the Temperance Affairs of the World. We are challenged to deal with the situation with a boldness, comprehensiveness, and drastic thoroughness unthought of by our predecessors. Let us get to work here in Calcutta and on the basis of the sites of the liquor and drug shops let us start a campaign that shall immediately check the use of the drink and the poisons that are ruining so many homes in our very midst.

HERBERT ANDERSON.

Calcutta.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA REPORT, 1911-1912.

It is a great pleasure to go through the Archæological Survey Report of the year 1911-1912, published lately. The wealth of its illustrations (76 plates), the variety and richness of its articles and the light it throws on the many knotty problems of Indian History, make it a rare possession to every student of Indology. The range of its articles is really remarkable. It embraces the exploration of Sahri Bahlol in Peshawar and the excavation in far off Prome, the antiquities of Bhita in Allahabad and those of the Madras Presidency. So nearly the whole of India is represented. Bengal has the honour of claiming three short but very able papers :

“The Vishnu Images from Rangpur” is from Dr. Spooner who has fixed the date of the execution of the images and the composition of the metal which he found to be *ashtadhatu*. He assigns the images to the Eastern Bengal bronze school derived from Bitpalo, “the bronze founder of the East” who flourished in the ninth century.

Two other papers about Bengal are from the pen of Mr. R. D. Banerjee, M.A., the most promising member of the Bengal school of Archæologists. In “Two New Kings of Bengal” he establishes the existence of Mahendradeo (1414-1415) and that of Daunjamardandeo (1417-1418) of Pandunagara (modern Pandua). His second paper is “The Four Sculptures from Chandiman” in the Patna district. They represent, among others, the scene of struggle between the Kirata (Siva in disguise) and Arjuna (the third Pandava). Mr. Banerjee has utilized this fine sculpture for his “History of Bengal,” a work marked by mature scholarship and scientific spirit. There he is eloquent over the fine workmanship of the piece and assigned it to the early Gupta period (fourth or fifth century A.D.) Thus we find a Bhaskara Bharavi working out this chiselled epic *Kirata-jumijam* before the birth of the author of the epic itself.

Of the other articles of no less importance we may mention “The Age of Rajendra Chola and his Conquests,”

"The Third Vijayanagar Dynasty," the reports of the excavations at the Buddhist site at Kasia and at Mathura. Moslem India is represented by the valuable articles on "Saha Jahan's Fort at Delhi."

But the most valuable materials are supplied by Sir Aurel Stein and the Director-General himself.

Sahri Bahlol, excavated by Stein, is nearly eight miles to the west of Hoti-Mardan in the Peshawar district. Here "the excavation brought to light a great quantity of sculptures in the Græco-Buddhist style of Gandhara representative of its successive phases and often of considerable iconographic interest." Illuminated as it is by the valuable explanations and emendations of M. Foucher, the highest authority on Græco-Buddhist iconography, the paper is very valuable and suggestive. But the plates and illustrations which ought to be copious in every paper on a subject of iconographic interest are sadly insufficient. It is extremely tantalizing to read about some important art finds and then not to get them in the plates supplied. However the colossal Buddha head (Plate XLII, fig. 19) "showing a close approach in features to the Hellenistic Apollo type" as well as the statue of Hariti the goddess of smallpox (Plate XLI, fig. 16) supply "a fresh proof that the evolution of the many armed monstrosities known to later Buddhist worship in India had commenced already in the old home of the Mahayana System"—specimens like these are of great interest and value. Moreover the great discoveries at Takt-i-Bahi and Sahri Bahlol go to prove that there may be many historic monasteries, stupas and chaityas buried deep in some site not at all noticed by Hiuan Tsang. Thus his *Travels* is gradually losing the fame it once had of being the encyclopædia of Buddhist antiquities.

But the *magnum opus* of the volume is the report of Sir John Marshall's excavations at Bhita near Allahabad. It is a monument of ripe scholarship and patient research. His plan of excavations, maps, luxuriance in illustrations representing almost everything of interest and importance make the paper an ideal monograph. His scientific excavation had led to the clear differentiation of the Pre-Mauryan, the Mauryan, the Kushan, the Gupta and the mediæval strata. The epoch-making excavations of Sir Arthur Evans in Crete has demonstrated how without any help from epigraphic and numismatic evidence it is possible to fix the approximate chronological foundation of a buried civilization. A similar path has been opened by Sir John

Marshall in the field of Indian Archæology and we eagerly watch his discoveries. Some of the archæological finds go as far back as the tenth century B.C.! We can easily guess the effect of such excavations on the present chronology of ancient Indian History which refuses to go beyond the sixth century B.C. The only effective way of pushing the higher limit is not by theorizing on a literary allusion or some supposed astronomical data but by patient spade work accumulating concrete materials which no theorist can ignore. Sir John has undertaken this task and we wish him every success.

The seals, the terracotta objects, the pottery, the stone and metal objects all have different plates assigned to them. So that a little careful examination of the plates is sufficient to interest everybody. The only thing we miss is a plate of the coins catalogued. Most interesting to average students would be the splendid terracotta plaque No. 17 (Plate XXIV) representing the hunting of the King Dushyanta in Kalidas' masterpiece "Sakuntala." The vividness, the power and the fidelity of the artist has given to the whole scene the reality of stage representation and we seem to hear the very words of the sage forbidding the King to kill the innocent Ashrama-mriga!

“ न खलु न खलु वाणः सन्निपात्योऽयमस्मिन् ।

मृदुनि मृगसरीरे तूलरासा विवाग्निः ॥ ”—Act I.

K. D. N.

PRAPANCHASARA TANTRA.—Edited by Arthur Avalon.

Arthur Avalon has, by his learned edition of the Tantrik texts in both Sanskrit and English, indeed rendered an eminent service to the cause of Sanskrit Literature. The Tantras have hitherto been a sealed book to many, and the attempt to present in lucid and elegant English the main principles of the cult, cannot fail to elicit admiration from all lovers of the sacred literature of this country.

The Tantras must have played an important part in the development of the religion and philosophy of India. Though the origin of Tantra is shrouded in the mists of obscurity, it is indefinitely known that Arya Nagarjuna, the great Mahayana Buddhist, wrote at the beginning of the Christian era some practical treatises on Tantra which were regularly studied as text-books for several centuries

in the famous Universities of Nalanda and Vikramsila ; and it is a significant fact that the numerous religious works in Tibet, China and Japan are mostly translations of Indian Tantrik texts composed mainly during the seven centuries from the sixth to the thirteenth. From the Bhagavat-purana, the Malatimadhab Natak and other works it appears that the Tantras were well known to the Brahmans too during the centuries specified above.

* Sankaracharyya, the great teacher of Advaitavada, who lived from 788 to 820 A.D. wrote some excellent works on Tantra, viz., Prapanchasara Anandalahari or Sdundaryalahari, Dakshinamurti Stotra, etc. Arthur Avalon, with his collaborator, Pandit Tara Nath Vidyaratna, has brought out an excellent edition of Prapanchasara. The learned introduction containing a summary of the intricate doctrines and an analysis of the various chapters of the work, the accurate text, different readings, the index at the end of the work, etc., are among the special features which make the edition so valuable and interesting. Arthur Avalon, beyond mentioning that the work is currently attributed to Sankaracharyya, the great teacher of Advaitavada, does not enter into the question of authorship ; but in certain quarters he has been the subject of some unnecessary criticism on the gratuitous assumptions that he considers Prapanchasara as having been really composed by Sankaracharyya. It has been stated in those quarters that "there was a Tantrik Sankara in Bengal in the early fifteenth century . . . ; all Tantrik works which go under the name of Sankaracharyya are his works, in many of the Hindu Almanacs he is credited with starting an era called Sankarabda, etc." We confess our inability to make out who this Tantrik Sankara of Bengal was ; evidently he cannot be identified with Sankaradeva of Assam, founder of the Mahapurushia Sect. Tradition has it that one Sankara lived for some time in Bengal. He was the son of Kamalakara and grandson of Lombodora and was the author of four works which do not, however, include either of the Tantrik works mentioned above.

We have reasons to believe that Prapanchasara, at any rate, was not the work of any Sankara—be he a Bengali or a Dakshini—who flourished in the fifteenth century A.D. Sayanacharyya, who flourished about 1350 A.D., wrote a commentary on Prapanchasara known as Prapanchasara Sangraha and quoted verses from the work in the Suta Samhita Bhashya. Prapanchasara is

mentioned in the Vedanta Kalpataru composed in 1210 A.D. (*vide* Adhyaya I, Pada 3; Adhikarana 8, Sutra 33, where it is spoken of as the work of "Acharyyah," which in that work refers to none but the great Sankaracharya). Raghava Bhatta, in his commentary on Sarada-Tilak (page 432, Benares edition), has quoted the interpretation by Padmapadacharyya of Verse 31, Patala 32 of Prapanchasara. This leaves no room for doubt that Padmapadacharyya wrote a commentary on Prapanchasara. Now, Padmapadacharyya was undoubtedly a personal attendant of Sankaracharya.

The facts stated above militate strongly against the theory of a fifteenth century Sankara as the author of Prapanchasara.

While nobody denies that Sankaracharya was an exponent of Advaitabad, he, in practice, worshipped Sakti and other deities, so there is no real contradiction in Sankaracharya's invocation to Sarada at the opening of the Prapanchasara.

S. C. V.

THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI, DUBASH TO JOSEPH FRANCOIS DUPLÉIX, FROM 1736 TO 1761.—Translated from the Tamil by order of the Government of Madras and published by the Madras Government Press. Vol. III., October 1746—March 1747.

LETTERS FROM PERSIA AND INDIA, 1857-59.—By the late General Sir George Digby Barker, G.C.B. G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London.

We welcome the publication of these two books and we would fain wish that similar publications which must form the fountain sources of Indian History could be multiplied a hundredfold. The subject of modern Indian History has hitherto been dealt with chiefly by officials connected with India and we are surrounded mostly by a mountain of official publications which it is often difficult to surmount in order to obtain the perspective beyond. It is refreshing therefore to come across writings where individual sentiments are unfettered and the personal touch is strong. The publication of writings such as "Diaries" and "Letters" is always welcome to students of History. In these two instances they have a piquancy all their own.

The events described in the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Vol. III, cover the period practically from the capture of Madras by the French to the relief of Fort St. David by a British Fleet. We expected considerable light on the inner history of the rivalry between La Bourdonnais and Dupleix and an explanation of the entirely different points of view of these two great French officials, but we were disappointed. The diary, as a rule, fails to disclose the inner motives and political principles which actuated the French. It is however a faithful record of events and conveys a clear indication of the interpretation which Indians gave to the significant events of the time. Ananda Ranga gives us a vivid account of the important part played by Madame Dupleix in the diplomatic negotiations of Southern India. The piquant character of the narrative already referred to consists in the accounts given of the use which European officers made of the immense capacity for intrigue of their Indian employees. The publication is an interesting addition to the "Sources of Indian History" relating to the memorable struggle between Britain and France in South India.

In striking contrast to Ananda Ranga's Diary is the plain, soldierly narrative of General Barker of the Persian War (1856-57) and of the Indian Mutiny. As might have been expected the "Letters" do not give us an insight into the internal condition of the country or of its people at the time. There are significant passages however which clearly indicate the mutual distrust of the ruler and the ruled, reflecting back to the period just before the Mutiny. The "Letters" confirm the fact, if further confirmation were necessary, that the people had little sympathy with the military mutineers. They describe the Oudh campaign as opposed to the Delhi-Multan campaign, in which Barker took no part. The style is refreshingly homely but does not for that reason make it at places, like that of the description of the Defence of Lucknow, less absorbingly exciting than the most imaginative literature. It is a welcome addition to the Mutiny Literature.

S. K. R.

HANDBOOKS OF HINDU LAW. PARTS I. AND II.—By H. D. Cornish, B.A., Barrister-at-Law.
Cambridge University Press, 1915.

Mayne's standard work on Hindu Law has for a long time supplied the needs of students and practitioners. Golap

Chandra Sarkar's admirable work on the same subject and the Tagore Lectures on different portions of Hindu Law, not to mention other works, may well seem to have made the appearance of a new work on Hindu Law unnecessary and yet we think that Mr. Cornish's Handbooks dealing with certain departments of Hindu Law will be welcomed by the profession as well as by students of Law. In the preface to Part I the author's standpoint is stated and it is quite correct. He says "for all practical purposes Hindu Law may be said now to consist of a considerable body of case-law." A great deal has consequently been said about case-law. This is quite in accordance with what a great authority on Hindu Law has said in his work on the subject—"the case-law has practically superseded the Nilandhas or commentaries." In methodical arrangement of principles, lucid and concise statement of details, up-to-date treatment of points of law, these Handbooks are hardly surpassed by any work on Hindu Law that we know of. Occasionally one notices a rather meagre discussion of some important point of law, *e.g.*, in connection with the question of the succession of a widow to her husband's share. But on the whole these Handbooks are up-to-date treatises on Hindu Law relating to Joint Family, Partition and Maintenance, giving all necessary information on these subjects in a concise and methodical form. The collection of cases is good. We trust these two parts will be followed by others dealing with other departments of Hindu Law, such as Adoption, Marriage, Succession, etc.

B.

FOOTFALLS OF INDIAN HISTORY.—By Sister Nivedita (Margaret E. Noble). Longmans, Green and Co.

This is a book of sketches and impressions of Indian life, descriptions of the caves and towers and quaintly wrought manuscripts sacred to the muse of History. The "foot-falls" of the revered mother touch earth here and there through the ages,

"And the lotuses left on Thy footprints
Are cities historic,
Ancient scriptures and poems and temples."

For the writer of this book believes that "India itself is the book of Indian history." How varied these

sketches are may be seen from the headings of some of the chapters:—"The Ancient Abbey of Ajanta," "The Chinese Pilgrim," "Some Problems of Indian Research." We read here of the ancient monastic colleges full of students engaged in what we should nowadays call "post-graduate" work; we peer into wonderful old temples, we see the sacred carvings, we tread on ground holy to Buddha.

The study of India owes much to such writers, for one finds here that enthusiasm for and that sympathy with Indian life which are the first essentials for the understanding of it. The writer is full of admiration for the wonderful personality of the Prince Gautama and yet at the same time recognizes, and emphasizes, the universal truth that no religion is the work of an individual. She has a profound faith in the beauty, purity, and unity of Indian life and civilization. And the book contains some very acute and sustained reasoning. The problem of the supposed debt of Indian art to Greece and Assyria is dealt with in a most convincing way.

But the book as a whole is disfigured by two serious faults. It is too sketchy even for a book of sketches. It is unsystematic. It is full of sweeping statements, assumptions, and perorations, superlatives and exclamation marks. There is much learning but most of it is presented in a rather indigestible form. An unexplained prominence is given throughout the book to Buddhism—a prominence perhaps due to the fact that the writer believes Buddha to have "created a nationality in India."

And there is an undoubted tendency to idealize things Indian. Student life is represented as a pure search for the great and deep things of life. We are told that "India is and has always been a synthesis," that "India alone of all the nations of antiquity is still young, still growing, still keeping a firm hold upon her past." Phrases like "the sober synthesizing power of the Indian intellect" occur. Hinduism is spoken of as "a single united whole."

The book is beautifully printed and profusely illustrated. It seems a pity that it should have been presented in so inappropriate an exterior as two pieces of blue cardboard.

W. D.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE : A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY.—By Ernest Rhys. Macmillan and Co.

Some books are written for reviewers, some for readers. Mr. Rhys's book belongs to the latter class. It is not

a biography : it is an appreciation of the mind and work of a great man by one who is eminently suited by training and temperament for the task. What we find here is a description of the atmosphere rather than of the events of the poet's life.

Perhaps the most successful part of the book is the discussion of Tagore's Lyrical Work. There is a delicate understanding, expressed in delightfully happy phrases, of the most fundamental traits. "In Rabindranath's writings you find infinite sympathy with the babe in trouble and the small boy at odds with authority. He understands the appetite of the growing thing and the greedy lips of the babe. 'Everybody knows,' he cries to the child at odds, 'how you love sweet things—is that why they call you greedy? What then would they call us who love you?' The irony of this question is not fully seen until one detects that by it the filialater is unmasked in his own love for the sweetness of the little rascal."

Mr. Rhys reminds us that we must not expect Rabindranath's plays to conform to the laws of Western drama. They were written for the Indian stage and one must understand its traditions if one is to appreciate their power.

Rabindranath is more than a poet : he is a poet with a philosophy. And he is more than a philosopher : he is a thinker who makes a sincere and strenuous effort to carry his thoughts into action. Plato dreamed a Republic : Tagore has made one. Thus he is a mediator between the East with its dreaming and the West with its striving.

All these things have been admirably expounded in this little book. It will perhaps be difficult for those who do not already appreciate Tagore to appreciate the appreciation. But for those who are interested in things Indian there is much here that is instructive and suggestive.

The book is beautifully printed and illustrated.

W. D.

ENNERDALE BRIDGE AND OTHER POEMS.—

By Edward J. Thompson. 'Chas. H. Kelly.

Some of the shorter poems in this volume are clever and well finished. "The Sun's Darlings" describes an hour of idleness when the writer watches the passers-by—priests, children, coolies—and sees them all transfigured in the bright sunshine. "Sunday Morning" is an address

to the palm squirrel. "Morning Buds" is a dainty roundel worth quoting :

I that am fain of flowers
Have gathered one flower to-day,
For Margaret over the meadows
Ran like a leaf at play,
She gave me a toss of her fingers,
Laughed, and she danced away,
I that am fain of flowers
Have gathered a flower to-day.

"The Poet's Dream" is a spirited and happy translation from the Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore.

Mr. Thompson has felt the glory of the Indian sun—inspiring, transfiguring. He has stood in awe of the giant Himalayas. He has seen the beauty and tenderness of Nature in Bengal as well as in England. Many of his poems in their quaintness and in the manner of their conception are quite Elizabethan, though they never reach the Elizabethan daintiness of expression. Unfortunately there are many mannerisms and defects in the collection. Irregular metres, obscure phrases, prosaic lines, constant inversion, a continual attempt at a kind of epic diction, harsh effects caused by a preponderance of consonants,—these are some of the faults that disfigure the book. *Ennerdale Bridge* is a bad imitation of *Lycidas*. In poems like "The Cricket Pitch" we find mysticism made grotesque by its setting. The egoism of the preface and of the lines "To Rabindranath Tagore" is perhaps the worst fault of all.

W. D.

SVARNALATA.—By T. N. Ganguli. Translated from the Bengali by Dakshina Charan Roy. Macmillan and Co.

This is a beautiful presentation in English of the famous Bengali domestic novel *Svarnalata* by Mr. T. N. Ganguli. The book has been translated in simple, lucid, chaste and idiomatic English and will doubtless soon attract the sympathy and attention of a large circle of readers. The English readers will not miss in this rendering anything of the spirit of the Bengali novel and the translator deserves our best congratulations on his excellent production. The book portrays some of the most common "scenes from Hindu village life in Bengal" and its main

theme centres round some of the most unpleasant consequences of the joint-family system. The translator has also taken pains in explaining the purely Bengali ideas and technical terms at the foot of the pages where they occur.

K. D. C.

PERIODICALS.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—April 1915. (London: John Murray.)

The article to which the reader first devotes his attention in this issue of the *Quarterly* is the one entitled German "Kultur." Four aspects of the question are discussed, each one by an authority in his subject. Sir William Ramsay has many interesting things to say about Germany's scientific achievements, but the fact is emphasized that the Teutons have been amplifiers not originators in the realm of science. Their share in scientific progress has been by no means small, but much unscrupulous work and, indeed, dishonesty, for example in the infringement of foreign patents, have contributed to their prominence. Dealing with Art and Literature, Mr. Rolleston emphasizes the same point as Sir William Ramsay, that the Germans have proved themselves great in laborious and patient application. But system is no longer their servant; they have become its slaves. This has much to do with the main characteristic of modern German literature and architecture, which lack delicacy, grace and charm; "all is bare, solid and unfriendly." The writer puts it well when he speaks of "the howitzer style of architecture." Professor Gilbert Murray is impartial in his essay on "German Scholarship," which is rather a wide title, seeing that he deals only with the work done in Latin and Greek. His emphasis also is laid on the thoroughness of the German scholar. But here again, that lack of feeling and humanity which characterizes their Art and Literature, distinguishes them from English scholars. They are without the spirit of the artist. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher leaves us to draw our own conclusions from an account of the work done during the last hundred years by German historians. But he makes one significant remark: "it is not too much to say that the historians of the Prussian school have been the principal architects of the political creed of modern Germany." If that be so, is

there anything but deep condemnation for the historians of the Prussian school.

The account of the progress of the war on land and sea is continued by Colonel Blood and Mr. Hurd. Colonel Blood sees in the intervention of Turkey nothing but advantage for the Allies. "Turkey was more valuable to Germany as a secret friend than as an active ally," but when she threw down the glove, she gave the Allies an opportunity for clearing up the situation.

One of the most interesting articles deals with "The Economic Condition of Enemy Countries." This question has been abundantly discussed within the past few months, not without a considerable amount of imagination coloured by desire. Mr. Jennings tries to look at things impartially, and to discover the enemy's strength as well as his weakness. He does not think, however, that we have any cause for misgiving. One important fact is the depreciation in the German exchange. Mr. Jennings thinks that before the war is over German paper money will probably be discredited altogether. Although superficially, economic distress is not greatly apparent, there are many signs of uneasiness. The formation of a State supervised company, "War Cereals, Limited," indicates a crisis in the matter of food supplies. The high prices offered by Germany for copper show that there is an alarming scarcity of it, and this will be intensified "when the neutral countries have put into full operation the more stringent examination which they realize to be obligatory." Austria is in the same plight as its ally, and the financial position of Turkey is matter for a smile.

An article which ought to be largely read in this country deals with "Indian Art." The writer, Laurence Benyon, one of the most artistic of our living poets, discusses the subject with independence of judgment and charming clearness. On some important points he is at variance with Mr. Havell whose enthusiasm, he thinks, often outruns his judgment. The important thing in a nation's art is design, which Mr. Benyon defines as "that ordering of the relations between the parts, by which a work of art acquires organic unity;" it is this that makes art creative, and it is the lack of design that Mr. Benyon complains of in Indian Art. "We are struck by the beauty of individual figures, by a charm of attitude, gesture, mood; but the relation between the figures is rarely felicitous." In the new Calcutta School, the writer

sees the possibility of a re-discovery of the secret which the old artists knew.

"The Abandonment of the Gold Standard," "The Balkan States and the War" and "White Wolf in Kansu" are well worth a perusal.

A. C.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—April 1915.

The leading place in this number is given to a powerful article by Principal Forsyth entitled "Veracity, Reality, and Regeneration." It contains a strong plea for deeper and more serious thought with regard to the fundamental nature of Christianity on the part of those whose duty it is to preach. To the lack of this the writer traces most of the evils of our social life, including the great war itself. "A catastrophe so wide as the present war is the result less of a political than of a moral situation common to all the nations....It goes back in the last remove to a religious situation, one with more religion than God in it, and more God than Christ." Dr. Forsyth will have nothing to do with a religion which is mere sentiment but believes that the only religion which can have real power is that which is based on the knowledge of a reality whose inmost nature is creation or miracle.

Professor H. R. Mackintosh contributes an informing article on "Modernism and the Church of Rome." His opinion is that Modernism has no future inside the Church, because a Church which claims that the Pope is infallible can never compromise with the results of criticism. Nor does Professor Mackintosh see any hope in the advent of a new Pope who might make liberty possible. No new Pope can break free from the tradition of his chair. To Papalism the whole Modernist effort is absolutely opposed.

An article on "The Imperialism of Napoleon I" by W. Ernest Beet finds the explanation of Napoleon's career in his effort "to establish himself as an emperor above emperors, not as *primus inter pares* among the monarchs of Europe, but alone, exalted above all earthly rule, authority and power." Mr. Beet finds a parallel to this in the ambitions of the modern Prussia. World power or downfall is the watchword in this case as it was in Napoleon's, and the result in the one case as in the other is that too great ambition finds itself face to face with a world in arms.

An article by Saint Nihal Singh on "The Political Future of Islam" develops the view that whether Turkey loses her territory or not, she will in any case after the war have lost her predominant position in Islam.

The number also contains an interesting article on "Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland," one on "America in 1915" and numerous reviews.

E.

THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW.—March, April and May 1915.

These three numbers serve a useful purpose in opening up for discussion many topics of general interest which are of the utmost importance in Education.

The articles dealing with Educational Theory and Practice contain little that is new, but they may be helpful to those who have neither the time nor the inclination to read works dealing with the subject. "The Teaching of Geography and the Methods of Teaching It," "Garden Work in Schools" and "Composition in the High Schools" are among the most useful and suggestive articles.

Mr. T. G. Anantachariar brings forward strong arguments against the present use of English as the medium of instruction in schools. The remedy for the faults in the present system is—"The wise substitution of a national system, holding out to the masses great facilities for commercial, industrial and agricultural education suited to the country's needs and popularizing knowledge by carrying it home to our workmen, women and children through the medium of vernacular."

This *Review* is to be recommended not only to teachers but to all who are interested in Education.

A.

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RUSSIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE: A HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

BY J. COYAJEE.

CONSTANTINOPLE is famous for the sieges which it has sustained. The Persian, the Bulgar, the Frank, the Russian and the Turk have all tested its strength. As the historian Finlay says, on eleven great occasions it has repulsed the attacks of powerful armies ; and twice it has been taken (*i.e.*, by the Crusaders and by the Turks). Consequently the present operations of the Allies in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles may be considered to be the fourteenth great siege of Constantinople.

But meanwhile it is worth remembering that in the last few months Constantinople has been captured, and has already had a change of masters—and that without any siege or fighting whatever. Dr. Helfferich may affect to sneer at the importance attached to the “silver bullet” by Mr. Lloyd George. Yet it is a fact that it is by the use of the “silver bullet” that the Germans have become masters of Constantinople. The issue, since that event, is not between the Turks and the Allies, it is between the Germans and the Allies. The present operations are to decide whether the Czar or the Kaiser is to rule in Constantinople ; the Turk is entirely out of the reckoning.

It can be shown easily, that of the two nations, the Russians and the Germans, the former have historically

far the stronger claim to the city, if ancient efforts and achievements and immemorial aspirations and connections ever constituted a claim.

It is not often realized that the Russians have been trying, for over a thousand years, to possess themselves of Constantinople. The reason for these unremitting efforts is obvious; Russia is, geographically speaking, the hinterland of that city; while the city owes the greater part of its importance to the fact that it is the outlet for the commerce of the great continent stretching north of the Euxine. Russia has known all along that it is dominated economically by the possessor of Constantinople, whoever he is. Hence, as often as Russia has possessed a strong ruler or government it has made a bid for the possession of its geographical key. It was only in the dark days, when Russia was under the terrible "Mongol or Tartar Yoke," that the idea was even temporarily dropped.

The first Russian attack on Constantinople was made eleven centuries ago, Gibbon placed the event in 865 A.D. and Finlay in 866; but Professor Bury, as the result of the latest research, tells us that the date is "now incontrovertibly fixed to A.D. 860." Ruric and his Norsemen had then just begun their domination of Russia. In that age the Norsemen became the ruling power in many European countries and had sown in those lands the seeds of political progress and military enterprise. In Russia they almost at once inaugurated an advance towards the Southern Sea. Kiev was occupied at once and two Norse leaders—Dir and Ascold—had the hardihood to besiege Constantinople. The old chronicler Nicetas tells us how "the Ros, having come through the Euxine to the Bosphorus, and plundered all the palaces and all the monasteries, overran likewise the islands round Byzantium. This attack was soon followed by two more attempts made forty years later by the sons of Ruric; and only the terrors of the Greek fire could subdue their valour. In this cycle of wars, friendly interludes were not

wanting. Vladimir I. married a Byzantine princess; and Olga, the daughter-in-law of Ruric, was baptized at Constantinople. The Emperors had learned to treat Russian sovereigns with respect. Finlay tells us that "the golden bulls of the Roman Emperors of the East, addressed to the princes of Russia, were ornamented with a pendant seal equal in size to the double solidus, like those addressed to the Kings of France."

But neither these attentions nor the commercial treaty of 912 A.D. with Russia could avert the great Russian war of 970. Swiatoslaw, the prince of Kiev, began to dream of the conquest of Constantinople, and hoped to transfer the Empire of the East from the Romans of Byzantium to the Russians. It was fortunate for the Empire that it was then ruled by a heroic monarch—John Zimiskes. As it was, the struggle was so desperate and equal that, to quote Gibbon, "on his triumphant return to Constantinople, Zimiskes was received like Camillus or Marius, the saviours of ancient Rome."

These terrible invasions were long remembered by the Byzantines, and there was a famous prophecy, "how Russians, in the last days, should become masters of Constantinople." This prophecy was, according to Gibbon, inscribed on an equestrian statue, in one of the squares of the city. Professor Bury, with his iconoclastic zeal, attacks this prophecy, but has succeeded only in reducing the number of witnesses to it.

Better relations prevailed with the Russians, after the latter had been converted to Christianity; and though they seized the Imperial cities north of the Euxine, yet the historian of the Eastern Roman Empire assures us that "the sacrifice was not too dear a price for perpetual peace with the Russian state, then becoming a great power." Russians settled as bankers and merchants in the Imperial city; they served in the Roman fleets, and there were numerous Russians in the Roman legions. They liberally contributed for the support and embellishment of St. Sophia.

The Mongol conquest of Russia interrupted these friendly relations for a century and a half. But on the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Russian Czars believed that they themselves had become the rightful heirs of the Roman Emperors. This claim was strengthened by the marriage of Ivan III. with Sophia, a niece of the last Byzantine Emperor. Indeed, all Europe expected that the Russians were destined to expel the Turks, and it was to forward these views that the marriage was brought about by Pope Paul III. "The marriage took place at Rome, and it was the Pope who gave a dowry to the heiress of the Cæsars." Ivan III. has been described in the Russian Church service as "the ruler and autocrat of all Russia, the new Tsar Constantine in the new city of Constantine Moscow."

But the time for successful action had not yet come; Russia had yet to consolidate itself, and the Christian subjects of Turkey had not yet been roused by any stir of nationalism. Hence even Peter the Great had to abandon his dream of conquering "Tsaragrad," as the Russians styled the city of the Cæsars. Still the historical antagonism between Russia and Turkey had become well understood by that time. Dr. Hotzsch, in his account of Catherine II., puts the grounds of this antagonism in a nutshell: "The antagonism between Russia and Turkey was, and remains to this day, due to the fact that the Turks are the successors of the Tartars. Furthermore the actual situation of Turkey had prevented Russia from obtaining a natural frontier and seaboard in the south and her European expansion in the south-west."

With the advent of Catherine II., Europe felt that the Russian march to Constantinople had begun with vigour and success. Referring to the old prophecy of the Russian conquest of the ancient city, Gibbon said: "Perhaps the present generation may yet behold the accomplishment of the prediction, of a rare prediction, of which the style is unambiguous and the date unquestionable."

Voltaire also began to hope for a resurrection of ~~Hellas~~ with Russian help. Indeed, the famous "Greek Project" of Catherine would have delighted the heart of Voltaire had he lived to hear of it. Catherine had already brought Turkey to its knees by the treaty of Kuchukkainarji, and she now agreed with Austria to partition Turkey. Her grandson Constantine was to rule in Constantinople, but was to renounce all claims to the throne of Russia. Catherine made a triumphant journey to the south, and all along the route passed under triumphal arches inscribed "The Way to Byzantium." The Empress performed her part well; her fleet destroyed the Turkish navy at Tchesme—"a victory comparable with Lepanto and Navarino." But the ill success of Austria—always a broken reed to lean on—frustrated the great project.

Turkey once more escaped partition during the Napoleonic *regime*. Rambaud says in his "History of Russia": "Splendid vistas opened in the East and on the Danube to the ambition of the Czar Alexander. Thanks to the French alliance he could follow on this side, the glorious traces of Swiatoslaw, of Peter the Great, and of his grandmother Catherine. But Napoleon, if he yielded Constantinople to the Czar, demanded at least the Dardanelles or the Asiatic side of the strait; and Alexander would have either all or nothing."

Again, in 1878, Russia seemed to have reached the goal of her immemorial efforts—great was the joy in the Russian army as it approached its sacred city. Skrine in his "Russia" thus describes the scene:—"On 24th February 1878 the main body came in sight of the beautiful city bathed in sunshine. For centuries a belief had been current throughout the Empire, that one day 'Tsaragrad' would be restored to the Christian fold; and that the Cathedral of St. Sophia would again re-echo the sweet plaintive melodies of the Greek ritual. The invaders with one accord fell upon their knees, and embraced

each other with fervent enthusiasm." But the might of England barred the way and once more saved the Turks.

After this war Russian hopes of taking Constantinople fell very low. As Rambaud explains in his "Expansion of Russia," it was felt, that the seven long wars against Turkey had achieved comparatively meagre results. But another consideration was even more depressing. Just as France had cut herself off from expansion on the Mediterranean by helping Italy to be independent, so Russia seemed to have cut herself off from Constantinople by erecting the Balkan States. The Eastern question seemed to have only an academical interest for Russia. M. Rambaud might well say: "Unless there should come some European overturning, the famous Eastern Question will have for Russia only an archæological interest."

The "overturning" has come at last—the unexpected has happened. Is the old prophecy about to be fulfilled?

J. COYAJEE.

AUSTRALIA AND THE AUSTRALIANS.

BY W. H.

EVEN before the great war broke out, to be an Australian was the "Open Sesame" to the interest of most people, whether European or Indian.

The latter, puzzled at the attitude of Australia to himself and his fellows of the coloured races, was interested to hear of the country in which lived that strange and selfish people who claimed the run of the whole world while at the same time they held their own vast country as a preserve against the majority of mankind.

The Britisher in India was interested because Australia offered an unknown field for holiday exploration or a possible refuge when the long years of Indian exile had left him unfitted for life in England and undesirous of ending his days in the tropics. He was also—as a secondary consideration—interested in Australia as one of the "Colonies," a part of the farflung British Empire and a land of wealth and plenty. For the non-Britisher, Australia had the same attraction as any foreign land with whose people, customs and resources he is personally unacquainted. Possibly the interest of our German friends went deeper than we knew and their grave and scientific questionings were but the probings of an astute agent of that nightmare of so many good folk—the German Spy-system!! However that may be it remains that just as you and I are interested to hear of Canada or Russia or Japan, so most sensible men and women were profoundly interested to hear of Australia and her people.

The war has changed many things and the attitude of most people towards almost everything. New interests have sprung up as grass springs on the Australian plains refreshed after long drought with bountiful showers. All

of us are studying the peoples of Europe as we have never done before. Belgium her King and people, Servia and the Servians, Russia's emancipations, Modern Germany, all these subjects have been galvanized into living themes of passionate interest. Books are issuing from the press at an unprecedented rate and our papers and magazines are full of the most thrilling and informing accounts of everything connected with these people and their homes.

In the midst of all these, however, our Empire stands first for us and everywhere we find an awakening of interest which means an immense accession of knowledge with respect to India, Canada, Africa, Australia, and all the others amongst the multitude of Britain's possessions. For after all most of us live in a very restricted world. It takes so much time and energy to attend to and learn all we have to do within that limited sphere, that our knowledge of other lands and people, and especially those lands within the Empire, is of the most meagre description. The war is changing this. The vivid stories of India's patriotism, Africa's loyalty, Canada's and Australia's valiant heroism in this their first great war, has aroused our enthusiasm and we are learning at a most rapid rate.

VAGUE IDEAS OF AUSTRALIA.

The days when men expected to go to Australia and pick up gold as they walked across the road have no doubt passed, but I well remember the visit of a highly educated and wealthy English merchant who declared he was disappointed at not seeing the kangaroos hopping round the outskirts of Adelaide. No doubt he would claim now that he spoke with poetic license, but there is as little doubt that his picturesqueness expresses the vague ideas perhaps the majority hold concerning Australia.

Who has not frequently heard the query—"Oh, you are an Australian. I have a friend out there. Jones is his name—Jack Jones. I suppose you never come across him?" Sometimes this is put with a kind of apology: "I

know, of course, Australia is a big place, but Jones is somewhere east, Melbourne or Sydney." Somewhere east! and the eastern half of Australia has something like 1,500,000 square miles!!

Melbourne or Sydney! Fancy looking for Jack Jones, friend of Tom Smith, amongst 700,000 people, which number is the population of either Melbourne or Sydney. Even Australians hardly realize that their country is nearly twice as big as India—3,000,000 square miles, while its population is more than sixty times *less* than India's—5,000,000.

This vast expanse of territory is responsible for many of the most salient features of the island continent of the south. It means, of course, that when one is asked about the climate he may claim that it is the best in the whole wide world, and if he does so he is probably speaking the truth if he refers to certain parts of the East Coast, Victoria, Tasmania, the southern half of South Australia or the south-west of West Australia. Many a man from tropical Queensland or the Northern Territory, or the explorer who has traversed the deserts of the interior, may be quite as justified in the use of strong epithets by which he seeks to express his abhorrence of the Australian climate. Speaking generally, however, one might be forgiven for extolling the healthiness of Australia.

Almost every state capital claims to have the lowest deathrate in the world and maintains this as a proof that its own state is the best for intending immigrants. The fact is the rate varies slightly, just enough to give one or the other the advantage for the time being, and the general rate is so low that there is every probability of the state which stands first holding the world's record.

This reminds me that Australians are very keen on world's records. The great newspapers of the principal cities must carry large stocks of ready reckoners on every conceivable subject, from birth statistics through the multitude of sporting records, steamer averages, livestock

weights, prices at horse sales, to the deathrates amongst their citizens. A competitor for the world's championship has only to swing a club two minutes longer than any other, or show a pumpkin weighing more than the last heaviest specimen and his name is blazoned abroad with long lists of former records from the beginning of things down to the present day.

But to come back to the weather. When we remember that about one-third of the Australian continent is within the tropics while the southernmost extremities are well within the Southern Ocean across which the Antarctic winds and currents have an uninterrupted course, we can easily understand the diversity of its climate. In the north and those parts approaching the tropics there is the extreme heat and enervating humidity so well known in this country, while south of these parts there are large tracts wherein the greatest extremes may be met with. The interior of New South Wales, for instance, may have many days with a temperature of anything from 110° to 120° in summer while in winter the snow falls fast. Even in the southernmost parts of the continent proper the summer temperature may go well over the 100° . On the seaboard there is little or no snow in winter although the cold, moist-laden winds may make conditions far more unpleasant than an actual snowstorm. For all this the heat of a great part of Australia is not so trying as that of India, and one of the main reasons is the absence of those still, sleepless nights so familiar to all out here. The highest mountain in Australia is less than 10,000 feet in height but it is an unusual season when the snow disappears entirely from its sides. In winter the snow carnival is one of the attractions of the country. There are wide breezy uplands which, while warm in summer, are not too hot to be unpleasant, and in winter they are fine and bracing.

All round the seaboard the winds from the interior are dry and cold in winter, hot in summer. I have known

the temperature to rise steadily on a summer's day, under the influence of a scorching westerly wind, until it was close on 110°. With evening this wind might be replaced by a cool sea breeze until after three days of high temperature there came a sudden squall from the south—a southerly buster in common parlance—and within an hour there was a drop of anything up to 20 or 25. But give me the 110° with a dry wind any day in preference to the moist nor'-easter and only 90.

The vast area of Australia contains not only immense varieties of climate but also of physical and, consequently, social features.

The idea long held a place in the minds of the multitude, that Australia is a desert with a mere fringe of cultivable and habitable land around its sea coasts.

True there is a kind of border marked off by the near approach of the mountain ranges to the seashore. This is most distinctly seen on the east coast and is continued round the south-eastern corner.

But even in those states most affected by this, there remain hundreds of thousands of square miles of the richest country as yet almost untouched by the pioneers of the Commonwealth.

Anyone who has seen or read of the rolling expanses of the Darling Downs in Queensland, the great black cotton plains of northern New South Wales, the Riverina of Victoria, the hinterland of South Australia or the vast almost unexplored territory of both South and North Westralia knows that the picture of one continuous and immeasurable desert covering the interior of Australia was but the nightmare suggested by stories of explorers who had set out on a task whose magnitude they had not realized and who had thus in their unpreparedness encountered heartrending difficulties or had altogether perished in their valiant attempts to find new lands of promise.

The coastal ranges are responsible for the many rivers which, although the majority are short and

unnavigable, are invaluable in their irrigation of the fertile plains intervening between the mountains and the sea.

On the further side of the mountains are some of the largest rivers flowing inland and losing themselves in the sands of the interior. On the other hand the Murray and its tributaries, the rivers of the Northern Territory and of North and South Westralia afford means of communication to inland districts as well as contributing their share to the watering of the country through which they flow.

Naturally the tendency in the days of pioneering was to occupy those tracts most easily reached. The fringe of coastal plains with a good average rainfall, a rich soil capable of carrying flocks and herds or yielding a good return to the farmer and an easy access by the numerous harbours or river mouths, were abundant enough for the comparatively few settlers who began to find their home in this new land once it was freed from the stigma which Australians are so anxious should be forgotten, namely, that Australian colonizing was begun with a penal settlement.

EARLY SETTLEMENT.

The Australian is a sensitive being on most points relating to his country. He is hypersensitive regarding anything which might indicate a reference to the early years of his national life. I remember well the odium a young and inexperienced lord incurred when, landing at Adelaide on his way to take up the appointment of Governor of one of the colonies, he made an innocent reference to the great strides Australia had made from the first days of Botany Bay only 100 years before. The insinuation, discovered by the guardians of Australia's honour, raised such a hubbub that the new Governor's recall was seriously discussed in the leading papers and his later popularity failed to prevent a raising of the dust

of controversy when he was laying down again the rod of office.

It remains a fact, however, and one we need hardly be ashamed of that Botany Bay began as a penal settlement and the first experiment in farming was made by a ticket-of-leave man under the eye of the Governor himself. The result was an extension of the experiment and a realization, to some extent, of the possibilities of the new land. With the advent of sheep and the wonderful expansion of the wool industry in consequence of the rapid adaptation of the merino to the conditions of the country, men began to look further afield. Adventurous spirits crossed the mountain chains and discovered the wide prairie-like plateaux of the interior. "Squatters" took up immense areas for pasturage, and the population increasing, began to find fresh attractions in the hinterland of what in the earlier days was all New South Wales, but is now Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria.

It would take far too long to recount in detail, in a general survey such as this is, the really thrilling romance of Australia's growth, the story of its wool and mutton industry, the sudden influx of men with the discovery of gold and other precious metals, the increase of the more steady and no doubt more staple industries of wheat farming and fruit growing and the rise and growth of the manufactures of the Commonwealth.

I want rather to give some indication of things as they are nowadays, of the problems which occupy the attention of Australians and the foibles which appear prominent to one who has had over 20 years' experience of Australian life and conditions but who for some years has been able to look at it all from the semi-detached position of a wanderer in another land, but whose heart, in the words of the now familiar air, is "right there."

It is here however that a difficulty arises for there is so much that can be written that I find it hard to know what to write or where to start.

AUSTRALIA'S SOLDIERS.

The Australian soldier is looming large in the public eye at present so let us begin with him and trace him back to his people and his home.

I do not need to defend, with what feeble power I may possess, the Australian as a soldier. He made a name for himself as a daredevil horseman in South Africa.

Many people doubted his ability for the warfare we are now going through. His reply to that is to be read in the accounts coming to hand of his coolness, daring and tenacity in landings in the Dardanelles. He has proved himself apt to learn and as adaptable as his fellow Britons to the situation in which he finds himself.

To my hand lies a cutting from one of the leading Australian papers giving a description of the Australians in Egypt by "One of Them." That hard work and fatiguing heat does not depress him overmuch may be found in his comments on the Commissariat when that department goes wrong—

"The Brigadier gets turkey, the Colonel he gets duck,
The Officers they get chicken and think they are in luck ;
The Sergeants they get bread and cheese and mop up all the can
But all the poor old private gets is bread and sometimes jam."

There have been many stories of misconduct by the Australian troops just as there are of many others connected with the war.

It is not safe to believe rumours of that kind. The writer referred to above says: "I can assure the people at home that the vast majority of our men are playing the game. A few have played the fool. We are trying to convince them and we are succeeding too that an Australian battalion is no place for a rotter."

Added to this I have the testimony of a very old friend who went out as chaplain with the first force from Australia and who writes in the strongest terms denouncing the libels on the whole force, which because of a few undesirables have been bruited abroad and given credence to by many good folk at home.

Mr. Fisher, the Prime Minister of Australia, stated in his speech at the opening of Parliament recently that Australia had then despatched for service nearly 45,000 men and officers and had in training another 25,000 who were being despatched as rapidly as they completed their training. Recruiting continues throughout the Commonwealth and the despatch of troops will continue as long as there is need for them at the front. The special war expenditure by the Commonwealth amount to close on £12,000,000 and will probably be increased to 1½ million pounds per mensem.

It is interesting to note in connection with this the efforts of Australia in the direction of self-defence.

Conscription in the ordinary sense of the word is not law in Australia although the youth of the country is bound to undergo training in times of peace and is liable to be called to the colours in times of war. The system has not been in vogue long enough to have had any very appreciable effect on the present war although by virtue of their previous training many of the younger men are now able to qualify for commissions or join the ranks with some knowledge of their work.

The difference between the Australian system and that of most others is that there is no serving with the colours. Every boy is compelled to put in a certain number of hours' training in the year. From the junior cadets he is transferred to the senior cadets, where he has still to attend a stated number of drills and a fortnight's camp every year until he attains the age of 25. A certain proportion of the cadets are drafted to the navy and, so far I believe, no difficulty has been found in making up the necessary quotas for the ships of the Australian navy as these have been put into commission.

The scheme for the navy aims at the gradual building of a fleet sufficient to ensure the protection of Australia from aggression and thus to release the squadron of the Imperial navy for service elsewhere.

There is an agreement with the British Government that the Australian navy shall be put under the orders of the Imperial Naval authorities in time of war, and as by this arrangement the ships already built, including the flagship *Australia* and the armoured cruisers *Sydney*, *Melbourne* and *Brisbane* sailed under orders of the Admiralty immediately war broke out, the German Pacific squadron eventually destroyed by Admiral Sturdee was hunted across the seas until forced (so it is said) to escape into what proved its destruction.

The Australians are proud of all this. They point to it as an example for all the Empire to follow and nothing delights them more than to see glowing references to it in the home papers or those of other parts of the Empire.

There is a pride, which in individuals is obnoxious but which as a national trait may lose its snobbishness and become noble.

I have already mentioned that the Australian is a sensitive creature. In nothing is this more clearly exemplified than in the national pride. Praise Australia, its resources, its progress, its wonderful achievements, its boldness in social and legislative experiment, its people and you tread the surest way to win the goodwill of the Australians. Say one word of disparagement and no matter who you are or what you do, you are a marked man, an enemy of the country, an unworthy member of the nation, the Empire or even of the human race!

Yet this sensitive pride has been a good asset in the Australian's character. While he is in danger of letting it get too large a place in his outlook on life it has yet helped to inspire him to noble emulation and bold aggressiveness in tackling the problems of life in a new land and under new conditions. It has given him a spirit of independence which has stood him in good stead in the opening up of vast tracts of unknown country, the development of his country's resources and the adoption of new and often very drastic methods of government.

The childlike delight in their own possessions exhibited in this trait of the Australian character, finds expression in the multitude of interviews recorded in all the leading papers of the Commonwealth and would be laughable, almost obnoxious were it not generally so palpably simple in its genuineness.

Of course something must be allowed for the desire of the journalist to please a fickle constituency but even with this allowance the claim put forward with a delicious innocence by the great multitude of Australians that everything Australian must *ipso facto* be the best, is supported by "interviews" with streams of globe-trotters who, when in Australia, very naturally see eye to eye with their host and is confirmed by a stream of returned Australians almost as voluminous, whose experience abroad has but sealed their original belief that nothing outside could be found to beat what was within their own country.

Perhaps it is this that accounts for the proverbial hospitality of the Australian people.

They have a national as well as a personal reputation to maintain and no one can say that the Briton of the South does not do his duty in this direction right loyally. After all, his pride and also his keen sensitiveness are foibles to be found the whole world over and they do not prevent the dwellers in the land of the wattle and the gum from being real "jolly good fellows."

AN OPEN-AIR LIFE.

Environment is credited with large powers in influencing a man's development. To its credit no doubt, must be placed the breezy good nature as well as the tough wiryness of the Australian manhood.

There is, perhaps, more open-air life in Australia than in any other country peopled by Europeans. Englishmen laugh at the simplicity of the Australian who pictures

England as a land of constant fog, dull days and long, cold nights. But the Australian meeting a newly arrived Englishman here in India listens with quiet wonder to the northerner's raptures over sunshine and blue skies, the clear, bright, moonlit nights or the brilliant sparkling of the stars.

True Australia has not the fixed wet and dry seasons characteristic of this country. A summer's day may be spoilt by an unbroken deluge of rain and a spring evening with the fitful gusts of a dying hurricane. Nevertheless sunshine and clear skies, bright moons and shining starlit nights are as natural to the Australian as to the Indian. For this reason we find the former living a free, open-air life. Home life suffers because cricket field, sea-beach or promenade call with an irresistible appeal by day and night. Business, too, suffers, because the workman claims that his life is best lived in the delights of nature and he often finds his work irksome and longs for the chime which rings relief from the drudgery of the day's task. Yet again that which threatens evil contributes also good and Australia's sons are what they are because of the many hours spent out of doors. The beaches everywhere sport merry crowds which are delighting in the exhilaration of a buffeting by the waves ; the many playing fields are gay, at least every Saturday and Wednesday afternoons with the multitudes who find attraction in racing, football or cricket. The difference many find between life in the old land and the new might be summed up in the words of a Scotch immigrant as he described his experience to me : " At 'home,' " he said, " I paid two shillings a head to take my wife and family down the Clyde on a Saturday afternoon. We sat on the boat for two hours going and two hours coming back with, perhaps, twenty minutes at the seashore. Here I pay twopence a head for a tram ride of twenty minutes. I have my afternoon at the beach and return in time to get my tea and go to the pictures."

I have hinted that all this may have an evil influence and there are not wanting those who denounce it in unscathing terms. Personally I believe it has the tendency to make Australians take somewhat too lightly the responsibilities of life. There is no doubt a slackening of the restraints of home life and parental control and an exaggerated love for what is often called the human side of life but is in reality an irresponsibility which finds more serious pursuits than horseracing and the like burdensome and distasteful and often gains for the Australian the description of "the man who can't be bothered" or "the man who thinks it good enough."

Is this not, however, a symptom of the world's temper everywhere? Or rather was it not so before Armageddon came to sober men, to stiffen their moral fibre and recall them to a deeper thoughtfulness and higher ideals?

POLITICAL LIFE.

Nowhere, I think, is this tendency towards irresponsibility, more acutely evident than in Australian political life. Far be it from me to wish to disparage the many truly great and noble men who have adorned and are still adorning the political stage in Commonwealth and state. Yet one who has followed closely the political history of the past ten years or more cannot help feeling some qualms of dismay at the absolute orgy of party strife which has brought the highest life of the state very near to disrepute.

It is not a month since a deputation waiting on the Premier of South Australia asked for a reduction in the number of Members of Parliament and stated that there were now in Australia 662 legislators or one for every 7,000 people as compared with one for every 30,000 in England.

The Premier's reply by the way was typical of the Labour Party's attitude. "The Labour Party," he said, "would be only too happy to reduce the number of legislators so far as the Legislative Council (Upper House)

was concerned. They would have no objection to seeing the site of the Upper House taken as a children's playground."

With the federation of the six states fifteen years ago 108 members were added to the already numerous body of legislators so that now we find seven legislative assemblies of two houses each set to govern a population less than that of Greater London.

Party strife has deepened in intensity since the Commonwealth was established and, sometimes it looks as if party loyalty were put before patriotism and measures proposed or opposed by one party or the other simply because the party spleen could thus be vented.

One reason, perhaps the greatest reason, for this has been the fight Labour has put up to win for itself a place of authority, and the gradual shifting of political fortune from the Conservative and even Liberal factions to that of the Radical and Socialistic body. The fight has been a long and often a bitter one, but owing to their magnificent organization and their tightening grip on all within the ranks of the industrial workers, Labour has at last won and to-day stands master of virtually the whole of Australia.

To my mind the most interesting features of this most interesting development are the gradual evolution of the statesmen who are now the guiding spirits of their party and the almost utter lack of comprehension of the difficulties of a responsible Minister of the Crown, manifested by the great majority of their constituents.

There are to-day in the ranks of the Cabinet Ministers in Australia men who a few years ago were perfervid in their claims for the working men, in their denunciation of the ways and wiles of the bloated capitalist and in the declaration of what revolutions there would be when they stood in the proud position of rulers of their people's fortunes. And they were sincere. But what a change!

These very men are busy defending themselves against the charge of treason levelled at them by their one time delighted partisans. And still they are sincere. Only with power has come a new revelation of power's responsibilities and they have been brave enough to acknowledge and respond to the responsibilities thus laid upon them.

Many trembled at the temerity of these legislators and have denounced them as demagogues and place-hunters but "Labour" has produced as many good and true patriots as has the opposing side and these, notwithstanding the demands of the syndicalists and other extreme socialists, are doing their best to direct wisely and well the affairs of their country.

Of course many of their measures have not commended themselves to all men. What measure ever did? And not all their experiments have proved successful.

The Westralian Government started a state steamship service to bring meat and produce cheaply to their markets but within a few months it closed down with a very heavy debit. The Victorian Government began a state-owned colliery. It too has been a complete failure. The New South Wales Government has now state brickworks, timber yards, stone quarries and a bakery but all these together, with a very heavy debit to the Capital account, showed a net loss on the last year's working of £4,000.

These failures give great opportunities for their opponents to point the finger of scorn and to make capital for their hustings campaigns. Yet despite all this there is a great record of useful legislation to the credit of the Labour Party in the arena of both state and federal politics.

Too often the party allows inexperienced men to launch out into an experiment by which he hopes to bring credit to himself and his party; and lacking in the necessary business acumen or technical knowledge, he yet refuses to leave things to his chosen experts, with the consequence that the reputation of the party suffers.

These however are but the lessons experience brings to all and are more safely practised in a new country where population is small than on the larger scale demanded by an older and more populous state.

There are occasions when men come to office for the first time and are anxious, apparently, to please only their immediate constituency without thought for the wider demands of the whole country. There is, for example, the Chief Secretary who on his first day of taking office wrote a long minute to the Chief of Police directing the suspension of certain regulations against holding meetings at busy street corners, because he had once been fined for obstructing traffic by airing his views at a socialistic gathering in a crowded thoroughfare.

This same man's first request to Parliament was that they should annul certain laws against Sunday trading because one thirsty sabbath he was refused the right to purchase what his thirst demanded. Such things are childish and make one smile, yet they indicate a turn of mind found rather too often in these workmen-legislators of the South and are unworthy of the great party to which they belong.

One of the most striking examples of the willingness of the Labour Ministers to learn and to profit by their learning that has recently come to my notice is that of the great £10,000,000 contract entered into by the New South Wales Labour Government with the Norton Griffith Company.

For many years "Labour" has denounced the contractor as one of the worst evils in the ranks of the hated capitalists and have advocated the doing of all Government works by Government on the day-labour system. Now, despite the vehement protests of their constituents—the labour unions—this Government has completed the biggest contract the state has ever entered into and has given over to one contractor—a practical monopoly—the building of railways, bridges, etc., some of which had

actually been begun by themselves on the day-labour system.

Labour finds itself divided not only on questions of domestic policy but in the larger field of State versus Federal interest. There is no suggestion in this of disloyalty to the Commonwealth. Whatever difference of opinion there may have been formerly on this vexed question, there can be no return to the old *regime*. Recognizing this Australians of every shade of politics are thoroughly established in their desire to see the Commonwealth prosper. Yet the States are jealous of their powers and it has been somewhat amusing to watch the tussle between the Labour Governments of State and Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Government has already under its control the Post and Telegraphs, the Customs and Defence Departments, but they aim at more than that. In opposition to the States Savings Banks the Commonwealth has founded a bank of its own and robbed the State Governments of a deal of business. Railways have always been a state monopoly in all the states but if the signs speak truly there is some nervousness about the Commonwealth's unexpressed desire to take over this highly reproductive public work. Already the Commonwealth has entered the arena by undertaking to build the connections necessary to complete the Trans-Continental line across South and West Australia and since the war broke out the Federal Government has mooted a scheme for a strategic line from South to North linking up several existing State lines.

Another illustration of this feeling between State and Federal Governments is found in the case recently argued in the Supreme Court in which the Federal Government sought an injunction to restrain the New South Wales Government in the matter of the latter's prohibition of the export of wheat without the boundaries of the State. The question was based on the rights of one state to legislate in a manner prejudicial to the interests

of another state within the Commonwealth. To the surprise of many but the delight of the New South Wales Government the case was lost to the Federal Authorities.

AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION.

Let me now refer briefly to Australia's attitude and especially to that of "Labour" towards immigration both European and coloured.

The Labour element has come to dominate so largely the fortunes of Australia that to expound Australia's policy is practically to expound the Labour attitude towards this question. However dispassionately an on-looker does this he cannot help, it seems to me, coming to one conclusion which is, that Labour's policy is dictated almost from first to last by selfish motives. Nor can I personally believe that this is other than a conscious attitude on the part of most of the leaders in the Trades Unions. They in effect say, "We are here to make the best possible terms for our own members. Therefore we shall shorten hours and increase the pay. None but members shall share in these benefits and there must be no glut on the market. Therefore when we think fit we shall close our ranks to newcomers."

With this in mind restrictions have been placed first of all on all Asiatics, for it is perfectly evident that the Asiatic, living as he does on a halfpenny a day, can turn out things cheaper than a white man and so tends to force down both prices and wages. Following these there are restrictions, such as the language tests, aimed at the poorer class of Continentals and there are others aimed at excluding all men brought, even from England, under contract, unless permitted by the Minister in charge of the Home Department. Thus the preserve of the working man's paradise is secured against invasion by the hordes of hungry humans who might take the bread from out of the mouths of the Australian workers.

It would be unfair to these workers, however, were we to leave the matter here, for while this is their attitude towards the industrial workers of the old world it varies in the case of rural workers or farmers who have capital to invest in land and the pursuits of farming.

In harmony with their opponents in this the Laborites recognize the need for encouraging settlement on the land as the surest method of protecting their country from foreign aggression and establishing it as the home of a strong and virile nation.

But here again for social reasons and also from a half-formed fear of future danger Asiatics are excluded. The British farmer is welcomed and many inducements are held out to him to come and make his home in the country districts of the best country in the world. Cheap passages, loans repayable on easy terms, land almost given away or leased at a merely nominal sum, are amongst the attractions held up to the gaze of men who are seeking their fortunes. There has been too much competition for business by the various states but this is decreasing and there is the promise of a much needed reform in this direction by the resumption of the control of this department by the central authority. The Labour Governments have been blamed for the undeniable rise in the cost of living within recent years. Many factors, however, have combined to produce this effect.

The high tariff first brought in with Federation and gradually raised to form a shelter to Australian industries has been, I believe, one of the chief of these. The Trades Unions have forced up wages until the minimum for pick and shovel work is eight shillings a day and the wages for skilled labour anything from twelve shillings a day for an ordinary bricklayer to £520 a year for the latest addition to the ranks—skilled steel rollers. It is quite evident that goods produced on such a wage must run high and when, to ensure that Australian goods are not ousted from the market by cheap foreign productions, a high

protective tariff is imposed, there can be no other result than a rise in prices all round.

A commission of inquiry was recently appointed in connection with the Industrial Courts in New South Wales, which found that the present minimum cost of living for a man and his wife and three children is £2-8-0 a week and this being so the findings of the Wages Boards have to be based on this minimum. Rents are abnormally high, clothing is expensive as compared with England, but other things are as comparatively cheap. Meat is an everyday item and not a luxury to the Australian worker; fruit is abundant and in season amazingly cheap in an Englishman's estimation, and the opportunities for enjoyment are so varied and inexpensive that the Australian's minimum goes very near to the Englishman's maximum.

But my recollections and reflections are running to an inordinate length and I must hurry to a close. A few lines on Australia's progress and prospects and I finish.

ADVANCE AUSTRALIA !

The strides Australia has made in the brief period of its existence as a British Colony have been phenomenal.

Old friends have often related to me tales of their early experiences. One old couple could tell of the days of highway robbers and cattle-lifters made familiar by Rolf Bolderwood's "Robbery under Arms." Another could tell of the days when the post came only once a month and "black boys" were the terror of their lives. There are many who can tell how Sydney or Melbourne were but straggling towns of a single street of shops and Queensland and Westralia were non-existent as British Colonies.

I travelled a few years ago with a man who fourteen years before had gone out prospecting in a stretch of desert where the water holes were few and far between and not a tree was to be found for hundreds of miles around. He was then a rich man travelling to his home on the same spot but in a town of 30,000 people in whose

tree-lined streets the electric cars flashed up and down and gardens everywhere abounded. Yet every drop of water used is pumped over 350 miles! The other day a sale was effected of a strip of land of 31 feet frontage in a main street of Sydney. The sale price was £30,000. Four years ago the adjoining block with a frontage of 75 feet and a greater depth was bought by the same people for £60,000. This is striking evidence of the rapid increase in land values in the chief centres of population in Australia.

It also reminds one of a striking peculiarity of present day tendencies in Australia, and that is the abnormal development of the towns often at the expense of the country districts. The various State Governments have been making strenuous efforts to induce men to go on to the land and with considerable success. Yet the towns grow at a more rapid rate. The increase in the population of some of the capitals in recent years has been at the rate of over 30,000 a year while the net increase in the population is very little above that figure. The attractions of the town together with the certainty of a comfortable living wage, seem too strong for the younger generation of Australians and the majority of immigrants, and so the town grows while the population on the land almost stands still. In view of this one might be tempted to acclaim "Labour's" point of view and insist on all newcomers going inland, for there is no doubt whatever that Australia's greatest need is men and women who will take up land and develop the resources of the country.

I have mentioned Government's efforts to induce this frame of mind. Large estates—the pick of the more accessible tracts, are being resumed by Government and cut up into farms suitable for the carrying out of closer settlement schemes.

Large estates, I might mention, abound and are really large. A friend of mine divided his father's estate with his brother and each got something over 300,000 acres.

There are companies owning over 2,000,000 acres of valuable property.

Crown lands are being cleared and offered on easy terms to willing settlers and the providing of facilities in the way of railways and water-supplies are the chief amongst many schemes in all the states. Readers of the *Madras Mail* will remember the account appearing four or five years ago of the work of a commission of inquiry into the irrigation schemes of India. Australians are willing to learn from other countries as well as to lead the way and they are fast applying the knowledge gained. Quite recently a huge scheme called "The Barren Jack Dam" was initiated and the first of 3,000,000 acres to be irrigated by the waters thus impounded were thrown open to settlers. Measures are also being adopted to conserve the enormous supplies of artesian water. Draw a line from Cape York to the centre of the southern coast and practically you have all the artesian country to the east of it—nearly a third of the continent and containing some of the richest country, wanting only water to make it produce an abundant crop. At the present time a man may put down a bore and find his land flooded by a flow of anything from a few thousands to five million gallons of water a day and save for the comparatively little he uses this great asset is wasted. The day is not far distant, however, when Government will devise a means of conserving these valuable streams and turn them to a most profitable use. This will counteract to a large extent the ravages of drought. None but those who have experienced these either in Australia or in other lands can know the horrors of them. Famines in India have carried off their multitudes of human victims as well as cattle and sheep. The drought in Australia might be as bad were the population anything like that of India but the toll in livestock is enormous. The great drought which culminated in 1903 carried off in New South Wales alone 50 per cent. of the sheep, over 20,000,000 dying of thirst or

starvation. Yet two years later the flocks had been more than doubled. The wool industry is one of the staple industries of Australia and the gross exports of this commodity run up to something like £30,000,000 per annum in value. Many a fortune has been or is being made in sheep as well as in gold. To my mind one of the most promising developments of recent years is that of dairying. Not so many years ago I visited a country district which was rapidly expanding after years of semi-stagnation. It was twenty miles from the railway at its centre. Gradually the forest was receding as settlers came and log huts and split rail fencing took the place of huge cedar trees and tangled undergrowth. The progress of the place was due to the adoption of dairying and the formation of co-operative butter factories within the district.

One man who was in a fair way of business told me that even in a bad season his net profits totalled £600, and he was no exception.

I could dwell long on the charms as well as the more material benefits found in fruit growing, cattle raising, and even in the more prosaic wheat farming, but time and space demand a halt.

That Australia has a great future before her is undisputed. Trade thrives despite every so-called restriction from Labour Governments, protectionist tariffs, etc., etc.

The average value of trade per head of the population is higher in Australia than in any other country of the world—in New South Wales it is £56 per head as against less than £25 in the United Kingdom.

There is over 90 per cent. of the continent unalienated and of this huge tracts are suitable for immediate settlement.

The Australians are determined that their country shall develop and the nation become a united people, working out a high destiny for themselves within their borders and, perhaps, in the islands which lie near them.

For the present the great war has almost put a stop to immigration but that can only be temporary and in

the near future we shall find the tide setting once more toward the South where there is such abundant scope for the exercise of the noblest instincts and talents of the British peoples. Perhaps after all the war will be one of Australia's greatest advocates in the homes of the Old Country for, as I said in the earlier part of this Review, the eyes of all are being turned to those countries within the Empire as they have never been before and the name of Australia is ringing with not the least acclaim in the ears of Britain's sons throughout the world.

Meanwhile it is a source of happy satisfaction to every Australian as to other Britishers that Australia is wholeheartedly loyal and that the great resources of the country both in men and in material have been put unreservedly at the disposal of Great Britain in this hour of crisis.

W. H.

THE ART OF SAROJINI NAIDU.

.BY ACE VIEME.

INTELLECTUALITY, not all reason merely but surcharged with the ideal, this has been the heritage of the Indian race through the ages, a subtle imaginative interpretation of the Universe, a passionate gem-like flame of the spirit that hears the far voices amidst the clamour of the world.

The art of Sarojini Naidu, at least in its more perfect forms, is the expression of this great body of imaginative Tradition. Without being "mere *rechauffes* of Anglo-Saxon sentiment," her poems have described to the English-speaking world the manifold forms of our Indian genius and inexpressible magic of our Indian passion. And it is to her credit that she had done this, that she had "arrived," long before the genius of Tagore burst into English Song. When we consider the limitation of her medium and the complex of influences that coloured her early training, we marvel at the result.

It was thirty-four years ago, with the publication of the Ballads of Toru Dutt, that the fashion of producing in the English language literature of a bellettristic interest took definite shape in India. As early as the days of Raja Ram Mohan Rai, of course, the writing of English was in constant use amongst the intellectuals of India. But the practice of it was mainly limited to theological or political controversy. What little there was of Poetry was produced in Bengal, at any rate, under the influence of two gifted Schoolmasters, Derozio, a Eurasian, and Captain Richardson. These two men deserve a high place in the history of Indian Education. They were connected with the Hindu College of Calcutta in the early half of the last century; they were poets, both of them, intensely

enthusiastic and endowed with great gifts of personality. It is no exaggeration to state that they moulded the lives and shaped the ideals of most of the men whose combined genius and energy ushered in the Renaissance in Bengal. But Richardson was steeped in Shakespeare and Derozio affected the Byronic manner both in the conduct of his life and in the writing of his verses. They inspired in their pupils poetical effusions which are now happily forgotten. These were never more than fragmentary, half formed, tentative ebullitions of sentiment, inspired by foreign ideals and never having any connected interest or permanent value. This early period of foreign influence was followed in Bengal, as also later, and to a smaller extent, in other parts of India, by the rise of a genuine modern literature in the various vernaculars. Michael Madhusudan Dutt and Bankim Chandra Chatterjea began their literary careers by writing in English; the one produced indifferent verses and the other wrote short stories. Fugitive as these verses were, they yet showed genius wrongly used; and in the English stories of Bankim, in spite of their immaturity of thought and crudeness of expression, we already find that sense of structure and grip of the facts of life which distinguish his later work. A wise instinct turned these great masters of song and prose to look towards the homeland for their inspiration. Michael turned to use his magnificent poetical gifts for the embellishment of his native literature with epics and dramas of enduring worth; and Bankim decided to delve into the gorgeous storehouse of Indian chivalry and to fashion out of the crowded material of every-day life rich penetrating analyses of indigenous character. But along with this growth of genuine vernacular literatures, there went also the desire to appeal to a wider world, beyond the limits of one's own province, to use the same theme and the same material, but in a medium which will enable the distinctive Indian mood to be brought before the forum of the world.

In other words, there was the desire to produce Indian literature in English. Now this task was beset with enormous difficulties, and in order to be successful required two essential things. First, the task of interpretation must be accomplished by someone who had been able to absorb the Ethos of Indian life by approaching right into the very heart of the "Magic Circle." Secondly, there must be the command over the English language—a capacity to sound its utmost depths of rhythm and expression, to use the unfamiliar imagery of oriental poetic tradition in such a way as to conceal its exoticness in a perpetual perfume of phrase and figure, and a capacity also—it is an astonishing advantage to have—to remould the technique, as it were, and to suit it to new notes and alien sonances in such a manner as to leave undisturbed the general harmony of the whole.

The pioneer of this strain of writing was Toru Dutt. She was "a fragile, exotic blossom of song" as Mr. Edmund Gosse has called her. She lacked the technique for one thing: while being a Christian and separated from the religious life of her people, she remained outside the magic circle. Moreover, her life was young: she was cut off in her prime. All her poetry belonged to her girlhood, and it was a very quiet and reposeful, a very cloistered girlhood, filled with much reading and much thought and, latterly, with much suffering on account of the illness which ended her life; but, on the whole, serene and childlike and happy. All her writings seem, indeed, to be the makebelieve to quote the words of Mr. W. B. Yeats used in a different context—"of a child who is remaking the world, not always in the same way, but always after her own heart, and so, unlike most other modern writers," she makes her poetry "out of unending pictures of a happiness that is often what a child might imagine and always a happiness that sets mind and body at ease." And even in her Ballads, Toru's chief legacy to literature, she lived in a world not wholly real, nor

even Eastern, but one which she re-created for herself partly by her own imaginative rendering of the legends of her people, and to a greater extent perhaps by her absorbing study of French and English poetry.

On the other hand, there is a subtle artistry and wonderful maturity in Sarojini Naidu's poetry. Between her and the earlier writer there elapsed a generation which grew up in English intercourse and on English ideas, on a more extensive scale than ever before. It was a generation that spoke English better, but at the same time took a more deep and real interest in the literature and the civilization of their ancient country. It was this circumstance that helped on Sarojini in her work and gave her that sureness of appeal and that confidence in expression which marks her poetry. This assurance becomes striking when compared with the diffidence and hesitation—half apology, half shyness—with which Toru launched her Ballads before the public. The opening lines of Toru's "Jogadhya Uma" strike this note which recurs now and again through her poems :

Absurd may be the tale I tell
 Ill-suited to the marching times
 I loved the lips from which it fell
 So let it stand among my rhymes.

Such an apology would nowadays be considered unnecessary.

But above all things, Sarojini Naidu's genius, as contrasted with that of Toru, is wholly native. It belongs to India. It is rooted with the fruitage of her labouring earth and deeply attuned to the pulsing ideals, the immemorial harmonies of her age-long story. Mr. Edmond Gosse tells us in his introduction to her "Bird of Time" how Mrs. Naidu's earliest poetical efforts were about robins and skylarks and English landscapes and how he suggested to her that she should give to the world "some revelation of the heart of India, some sincere penetrating analysis of Native passion, of the principles of antique religion and of such mysterious intimations

as stirred the soul of the East, long before the West had begun to dream that it had a soul." The gratitude of the entire world of Indian letters is due to Mr. Gosse for showing her "The Way to the Golden Threshold." And ever since that advice Mrs. Naidu has written nothing which does not owe its origin to an exclusively Indian or Eastern inspiration. With her eager sensibility, she is always ready to receive impressions from all sides of the richly coloured Indian life that throbs around her. The commonest of sights and sounds, the shrillest of street cries, the humblest of her fellowmen—all have for her some mysterious meaning, some peculiar intimation. She invests the meanest callings of her people with a sacred, and always beautiful, significance, and out of their simple chants and homely joys, she fashions a subtle melodious measure, capable of an infinite variety of notes and harmonies, palpitating, intense. The bazars of Hyderabad, with the colour and wealth of their wares and their flower girls "in tassels of azure and red," inspire in the poet a strange, rich mood :—

What do you weave, O ye flower girls
With tassels of azure and red ?
*Crowns for the brow of a bridegroom,
Chaplets to garland his bed,
Sheets of white-blossoms new-gathered
To perfume the sleep of the dead.*

She makes her palanquin bearers sing :—

Softly, Oh, softly we bear her along,
She hangs like a star in the dew of our song ;
She springs like a beam on the brow of the tide,
She falls like a tear from the eyes of a bride.

Or the snakecharmer to his sinuous, glistening
pets :—

Whither thou dost loiter, by what murmuring hollows,
Where oleanders scatter their ambrosial fire ?
Come, thou subtle bride of my mellifluous wooing,
Come, thou silver-breasted moon beam of desire !

Or again the wandering beggar-ministrels :—

What hope shall we gather, what dreams shall we sow ?
Where the wind calls our wandering footsteps we go.
No love bids us tarry, no joy bids us wait :
The voice of the wind is the voice of our fate.

The collection of verses entitled "The Bird of Time" contains some of Mrs. Naidu's most finished writings. A group of flower songs, exquisite in their fragility, is called "Songs of the Springtide." The quartette of poems that deal with the Goldmohur, the golden Cassia, the Champak blossom and Nasturtiums hint in a delicate and evasive way at a unique temperament. These common things of the material world are, for her, full of a kind of human interest and expression. The old native mythopœic element seem indeed revived in her verse, but intellectualized and perfumed. Further, she never takes a landscape or attempts panoramic effects, but just selects delicate little sceneries, concentrating upon the picturesque effect of one or two selected colours at a time and attuning them to some governing mood of the mind or to some allusive human interest, chosen either from the thronging material of the life that surges around her, or from "the memoried dusk" of time. Thus, "the lilt of a bulbul," "the dance of the dew on the wings of a moonbeam," "fireflies weaving acrial dances in fragile rhythms of flickering gold," "the fragile gold of poppies," "the fugitive sheen" of the goldmohur, "the luminous passionate bloom" of the nasturtiums—all these are images that attest by the startling appositeness of their epithets to the magic of her pictorial power. Over all these delicate nooks and corners, atoms to a universe, of inanimate nature, she throws the luminous haze of life, of movement and purpose and passion. And she must do this, for she feels that life is to her supremely necessary, supremely interesting, full of the stress and tumult of circumstance and pregnant with imminent happenings. When one thinks of this, one's mind goes at once to Dante Gabriel Rossetti. For with her, as well as with Rossetti, Life is to quote Pater's beautiful phrase, "a crisis at every moment. A sustained impressibility towards the mysterious conditions of everyday life, towards the very mystery itself in it, gives a singular gravity to all 'their' work :

those matters never become trite to 'them.' But throughout it is the ideal intensity of love—of love based upon a perfect, yet peculiar type of physical or material beauty—which is enthroned in the midst of those mysterious powers." In Sarojini Naidu, however, this singular gravity, this tremendous sincerity of mind, this consecration of soul to some magnificent ideal of service, is carefully, deliberately concealed in a light framework of song, and a consciously luscious decoration of language. In her letters she is franker. "I have taught myself," she writes to Mr. Symons, "to be commonplace and like everybody else superficially. Everyone thinks I am so nice and cheerful, so 'brave,' all the banal things that are so comfortable to be. My mother knows me only 'as a tranquil child, but so strongwilled.' A tranquil child!" In a very valued letter to the present writer of these pages, she explains her ideal of service through suffering: "Our life is full of sorrow for us all; sometimes touched with beauty and nobility, sometimes with despair: but . . . all sorrow can be rendered divine and inspiring, whatever its source and circumstance; it is the supreme test of our own quality of spirit, how one accepts, uses and sanctifies one's personal suffering to serve the world all the better and with sweeter devotion and sympathy."

Along with this passion for service, there is blended in her an intoxication for beauty. Perhaps that is inevitable: for it is the self-abnegating souls that by their service find in human nature new facets of charm, new symphonies of the music of life. This intoxication gives her an intense happiness which springs out of sheer physical suffering cheerfully borne. It is because her frail body is subjected to such perpetual suffering, that her spirit becomes eager to leap out of its frame into the free air and drink rich draughts of daylight, love and joy. Looking out on Florence on a beautiful May morning, she cries "God, how beautiful it is and how glad I am that I am alive to-day." At the mere touch of an Indian

sun, she expands like a sunflower, and bursts into this rapture.

"Come and share my exquisite March morning with me ; this sumptuous blaze of gold and sapphire sky ; these scarlet lilies that adorn the sunshine ; the voluptuous scents of neem and champak and serisha that beat upon the languid air with their inexplicable sweetness ; the thousand little gold and blue and silver-breasted birds bursting with the shrill ecstasy of life in nesting time. All is hot and fierce and passionate, ardent and unashamed in its exulting and importunate desire for life and love. And do you know that the scarlet lilies are woven petal by petal from my heart's blood, these little quivering birds are my soul made incarnate music, these heavy perfumes are my emotions dissolved into aerial essence, this flaming blue and gold sky is the 'very me,' that part of me that incessantly and insolently, yes, and a little deliberately, triumphs over that other part—a thing of nerves and tissues that suffers and cries out, and that must die tomorrow perhaps, or twenty years hence."

Her years of English study were interrupted by a brief spell of Italian travel and this interval produced a series of radiant letters which are exceedingly interesting. She found the warm sunny skies and the luxuriance of Italian life giving her what she did not get in England. "This Italy," she writes, "is made of gold, the gold of dawn and daylight, the gold of the stars, and now dancing in weird-enchancing rhythms through this magic month of May, the gold of fireflies in the perfumed darkness—'aerial gold.' I long to catch the subtle music of their fairy dances and make a poem with a rhythm like the quick irregular wild flash of their sudden movements. Would it not be 'wonderful?' One black night I stood in a garden with fireflies in my hair like darting restless stars caught in a mesh of darkness. It gave me a strange sensation, as if I were not human at all, but an elfin spirit."

An eager intensity of feeling thrills through these impassioned sentences. It is in her letters which I trust some day will be collected and published, more directly than in her poems, where her manner is more reticent and reserved, that the beauty-haunted and the beauty-tortured spirit of Sarojini Naidu finds full vent for her agony of desire. These letters are always written in exquisite prose, but with a certain exotic lusciousness of thought and vehemence of emotion which is un-English,—Oriental. Much of this is no doubt due, as I have explained, to her eager spirit rendered more tense and acute by bodily suffering; but in order to understand the causes more fully, it will be necessary to refer to certain external influences which operated upon her life and art. It will not be out of place here therefore to state a few main facts of her life.

Sarojini Chattopadhyaya, as she was called before she was married to Dr. Naidu, was born at Hyderabad, Deccan, on 13th February 1879. She came from an old and distinguished Brahman ancestry of Eastern Bengal. Her father, Dr. Aghornath, who died recently, was a scholar of eminence and an educationalist of ripe experience. After a brilliant scientific training in Edinburgh and Bonn, Dr. Chattopadhyaya took service in the Nizam's State, where he worked for many years with great distinction. He was a man of the most encyclopædic learning. From the latest researches of Science, and Mathematics to the most curious lore of Cabalistic literature, his astonishing mind could comprehend and welcome everything. He was equally good in turning a merry jest into an Urdu couplet as in taking part in a serene metaphysical discussion. And he was a dreamer, an alchemist, "a maker of gold." This was not surprising, for after all, true scientific imagination has something of the idealist in it. In the East, in the Brahman particularly, through ages of specialization, this quality has been combined with an imaginative, poetical gift. Sarojini

Naidu's ancestors had their share of this poetical mentality. It had been growing through the centuries, transmitted through generations of high-browed thinkers and woven into the texture of their being, "like the courtesy of a Tristan or a Pelanore."

Sarojini is the eldest of a large family of charming people, with unaffected manners and strong artistic leanings. A younger sister has a beautiful voice for singing, while a yet younger brother combines a remarkable poetical gift with great musical talents. Always a delicate child from her birth, Sarojini's health broke down in her thirteenth year. The sternly scientific programme of studies which her father had planned for her was thereupon interrupted and she was allowed to do her own reading. In 1895 she was sent to England with a State-scholarship. She remained in Europe till the end of 1898, studying in London and at Girton College, Cambridge, with a brief interval of an Italian holiday. These years of study and travel were the great turning point of her life. They were years also of great moment to English Art and Letters.

The closing decade of the nineteenth century was a period of immense ferment and great artistic achievement and social reconstruction. The poetry of the nineties with its fine shades and purple patches has been called the poetry of decadence. The old ramparts of the Romantic tradition, already shattered by the rugged energy of Browning and the vehement passion of the Pre-Raphaelites had well-nigh crumbled into nothingness when the youthful spirits of the nineties came upon the scene. The old Nature-worship had been watered down into a factitious sentimentality about sylvan glades and rustic pathways: and earnest passionate minds turned to life itself to give them inspiration. The city, and not solitude, the streets glittering with lights and thronged with men and women, the hurrying faces of crowds in movement, faces on which ten thousand experiences had cast their symbols, the footlights, the ballet with its whirl of coloured and

harmonious motion, the stage with its gorgeous mimicry of life and passion—these constituted the theme for the new Romance. It was an age of experimentation, of a generation bent upon snapping at apron strings and kicking over the traces. It demanded “wider ranges, new emotional and spiritual territories, fresh woods and pastures new for the soul. If you will, it is a form of imperialism of the spirit, ambitious, arrogant, aggressive, waving the flag of human power over an ever wider and wider territory.” It was an era of change and the desire for change.¹ And over the crests of the billows of these swirling waves of change, there floated strange, pale youths with long hair and ethereal countenances, “androgynous, frail, somnambulistic, the light shining through them,” brooding over scarlet moments, murmuring weird heresies on life and art, eager to “find the last fine shades, the quintessence of things; to fix it fleetingly; to be a disembodied voice and yet the voice of a human soul.”

In the face of all this liveliness, this gusty energy, this sweeping, impetuous tide of expression and temperament, how can we call this age decadent? Liveliness could never be a sign of senile decay. More properly it should be called an age of preparation for a new creative epoch. There was much social unsettlement, call it chaos if you will. But as Nietzsche says, “Unless you have chaos within, you cannot give birth to a dancing star.” There were besides, sinister elements, suggestion of riot and the strain of living, which manifested themselves in the literature of the time, in strange twists of speech, weird metallic shapes in verse and purple perversities of diction. But even these were an exaggeration of what I venture to think was essentially sound—an element which is not characteristic of decadence, but the distinguishing mark of all resurgent literatures,—and that was a glorious and vivid sense of the loveliness of language.

As Walter Pater says: “Never before had words, single words meant so much. What expansion, what

liberty of heart in speech ! The physical beauty of humanity lent itself to every object, animate or inanimate, to the very hours and lapses and changes of time itself. An almost burdensome fulness of expression haunted the gestures, the very dress, the personal ornaments of the people on the highway Here was a discovery, a new faculty, a privileged apprehension to be conveyed in turn to one and to another, to be propagated for the imaginative regeneration of the world."

Sarojini Naidu spent her precocious girlhood in intimate association with the leaders of this movement, Lionel Johnson, John Davidson, W. B. Yeats, Arthur Symons, she knew them all. She corresponded with them. She came to them a fervent disciple. She mingled with them with an alert, critical mind, and although so young, she caught something of their rich and unquiet life. As Mr. Symons says in his introductory essay to "The Golden Threshold" :—" I have never known any one who seemed to exist on such 'large draughts of intellectual day' as this child of seventeen, to whom one could tell all one's personal troubles and agitations, as to a wise old woman. But there was something else, something hardly personal, something which belonged to a consciousness older than the Christian, which I realized, wondered at, and admired, in her passionate tranquillity of mind, before which everything mean and trivial and temporary caught fire and burnt away in smoke."

She came back to her native soil primed with all the literature of the West and filled with an overwhelming sense of the beauty of language. She went to Europe, an Anglicised little school-girl, lisping in English numbers about robins and skylarks : she returned with a soul afire with love for her country and its vivid populations. True to her new teaching, she came back to India, to sing of its cities and their gorgeous wealth of colour, their bazars teeming with life and sound, and latticed windows behind which languished mysterious forms for love's sheer desire. All the beauty and the voluptuous fragrance of Indian life,

all the "leaping wealth" of its spring-tide loveliness, the unspeakable majesty of its star-spangled skies, the splendour of its flower, its waving cornfields, its frowning hills and magical woods that thrilled with a hidden and menacing life—all these lay before her and she used them as a perpetual and shining background for human emotion and human service.

The first fruits of these early enthusiasms were gathered in "The Golden Threshold." But in measuring the extent of the influence of these so-called Decadants on her art, it is important to remember that there are in her poems, an earlier and a later phase. "The Golden Threshold" was published in 1905 and may be roughly taken as representing the younger and the more girlish side of Mrs. Naidu's genius. "The Bird of Time" followed seven years later. During this interval her mind had developed rapidly. She had found, moreover, in the formative influence of social service a chastening of the spirit and a greater reticence in expression. What was more important: she had lived in close comradeship with sorrow. The shrill ecstasy of life with which "The Golden Threshold" is filled, is subdued in "The Bird of Time" to a graver key; through the passage of the years, there has crept into her radiant being, some troubled note of questioning and even resignation :

Shall hope prevail where clamorous hate is rife?
 Shall sweet love prosper or high dreams find place
 Amid the tumult of reverberant strife,
 'Twixt ancient creeds, 'twixt race and ancient race,
 That mars the grave, glad purposes of life,
 Leaving no refuge, save thy succouring face?

But happily this mood is only transitory, for presently it is conquered and we find at the close of "The Bird of Time" a symphony of exultation in a triumphant challenge to Fate :

You may usurp the kingdoms of my hearing . . .
 Say shall my scatheless spirit cease to hear
 The bridal rapture of the blowing valleys,
 The lyric pageant of the passing year,
 The sounding odes, and surging harmonics
 Of battling tempests and unconquered seas?

In the earlier collection, besides an overloaded imagery, there ran a note of petulance, a certain suggestion—although very faint—of neurasthenia and filmy unsubstantiality of sentiment; and this intruded even into her profounder moods, as when she sang :

Nay, no longer ye may linger,
 With your laughter-lighted faces, "
 Now I am a thought-worn singer
 In life's high and lonely places.
 Fairy fancies, fly away,
 To bright wind-inwoven spaces,
 Fly away !

Or, in her lines to death :

Tarry a while, O Death, I cannot die
 While yet my sweet life burgeons with its spring
 Fair is my youth, and rich the echoing boughs
 Where *dhadikulas* sing.

Or again, addressing the God of Pain :

For thy dark altars, balm nor milk nor rice
 But mine own soul thou'st ta'en for sacrifice :
 All the rich honey of my youth's desire,
 And all the sweet oils from my crushed life drawn, .
 And all my flower-like dreams and gem-like fire
 Of hopes up-leaping like the light of dawn.

In "The Bird of Time," however, she appears to have completely outlived that influence. Although her technique is now more finished than ever, she seems to have acquired a better ear for Indian music, and in such poems as "Slumber-song to Sunalini," "Vasant Panchami," "The Song of Radha the Milkmaid," she attains a music at once weird and bizarre, to which no known law of Western sonance are applicable.

In her "Festival of Serpents," one of the most weirdly beautiful poems in the whole collection, Mrs. Naidu entirely dissociates herself from Western forms of imagery and links her muse to the magic incantations of some primitive ritual. She takes the raw material of Nature-worship and over it she throws the illumination of symbolism, which gives to her poem a weird, unearthly beauty. Back from the Western world of the apparent and the commonplace,

she flings herself into the remote and unaccustomed twilight of Nirvan and the mystery of immemorial silences :

Swift are ye as streams and soundless as the dewfall,
Subtle as the lightning and splendid as the sun ;
Seers are ye and symbols of the ancient silence, •
Where life and death and sorrow and ecstacy are one.

To conclude. In the development of the artistic and literary consciousness of our people, the writings of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu are in the very forefront as a representative and significant achievement : representative, of that marriage of Western culture with Eastern idealism, on which depends the hope of a nobler Indian nationhood ; and significant, of that widespread upheaval of thought and feeling which will affect the future not only of India herself but also of that vast Asiatic world over which she still wields her intellectual empire.

ACE VIEME.

Baroda.

A STUDY IN ANGLO-INDIAN MELANCHOLY.

BY EDWARD FARLEY OATEN.

"By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept."

I.

FROM the very beginnings of Anglo-Indian literature there has been a tendency for the writings of Englishmen in India to be pervaded with the note of melancholy. A foreigner judging us by our writings would say that we were a rather lugubrious and heart-sick community, liable at times however to a wild and reckless merriment. It is natural to ask whether our literature misrepresents us. The Englishman, and still more the Scotsman, is typically reserved; easily both of them conceal their deepest emotions. Does the activity and gaiety of the Anglo-Indian community merely conceal an innate and deep-set melancholy? or do most of us, deep down in the depths of us, really enjoy our Indian life? That the note of gloom pervades Anglo-Indian literature and is only thrown off by a reaction to the other extreme, can be illustrated from a hundred writers. Sir William Jones addresses his absent wife in verses adapted from the Arabic:—

Two younglings wait the parent bird
Their thrilling sorrows to appease :
She comes—ah ! no ! the sound they heard
Was but a whisper of the breeze.

John Leyden in his "Ode to an Indian Gold Coin,"
flings it from him, crying :—

From love, from friendship, country torn,
To memory's fond regrets a prey,
Vile slave, thy yellow dross I scorn ;
Go mix thee with thy kindred clay !

Passing by the occasional melancholy of Heber and Derozio and Rattray's "The Exile" and D. L. Richardson's "Home Visions" and similar poems, we find the same note continuing to the end of the century, and biting, almost brutally expressed, in Sir Alfred Lyall's "Land of Regrets" and Rudyard Kipling's "Galley Slave." No four lines ever summed up the darker side of Anglo-Indian life better than these :—

He has found what a blunder his youth is,
His prime what a struggle and yet
Has to learn of old age what the truth is,
In the land of regret.

More terrible, though more hopeful, are Kipling's lines :—

By the brand upon my shoulder, by the gall of clinging steel,
By the welt the whips have left me, by the scars that never heal ;
By eyes grown old with staring through the sun-wash on the brine,
I am paid in full for service—would that service still were mine !

The genius of Kipling reveals itself in these last six words. No one painted more terribly than he the horrors and ghastlinesses of India, but there were notes in his writings which struck on the ear as something new in Anglo-Indian literature. We have the note of pride in the land of his birth :—

Of no mean city am I
For I was born in her gate.

We have too the note of duty :—

Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need,

Pride in the country of one's adoption and duty to India, the true Anglo-Indian's supreme consolation when work seems dreary and the homeland a dream—these were new notes in Anglo-Indian writing. Whole shelves of older Anglo-Indian books may be read through without meeting them. Here and there they may occur, but far more rarely than in these days might be expected, now that they have become a commonplace. To this change of atmosphere Kipling was not the least contributor.

It becomes amply evident that the note of pessimism and melancholy has pervaded most Anglo-Indian poetry. Except in the professedly boisterous rhymsters like Aliph Cheem it is rarely absent.

In prose writings, too, it is met everywhere. "Pandurang Hari" was the work of one who was obviously utterly without hope as regards the future of the people of whom he wrote—the Marathas. Allardyce's "City of Sunshine" leaves the reader with an equally despairing impression as regards the future of the Indian people. To Mrs. Ross Church in "Véronique" and "Gup" India was "the nursery of bigotry, prejudice and smallmindedness, the Juggernaut of English domestic life." Sir George Chesney's "The Dilemma" is a tragedy as gloomy as Hamlet. "The Wetherbys" of John Lang leaves one with the feeling that English military life in India before the Mutiny was morally so bad, that in despair of reforming it there was only one course open to the writer—to laugh at it. The idea of a subaltern becoming a Captain because four seniors drank themselves to death is really amusing if regarded from the right point of view! Such at least is the general impression given by the book. Even that prince of humorous essayists, Aberigh-Mackay, cannot resist telling us in his "Twenty-one Days in India" how Baby's "Papa has a Rajah and a Star of India to play with, while Mamma has the warrant of Precedence and Hill Captains, but baby has nothing;" but soon "Baby is planted out for evermore in the dark and weedy cemetery that lies on the outskirts of the station where he lived and died." Of later writers Mrs. Steel's and Mrs. Cotes's work is not definitely tinged with the note of gloom, though some of their work like "The Potter's Thumb" leaves us with the feeling that in India the Potter has potted very much awry.

Scores of light-hearted and irresponsible writings may doubtless be quoted as for instance Sir H. E. Cunningham's "Cœruleans" or "Chronicles of Dustypore" against the proposition that pessimism and lugubriousness are

definite features of the bulk of Anglo-Indian literature. But the very fact that those writers who escape the note of gloom are carried over by the reaction into uproarious hilarity or the extreme of gaiety of itself contributes to attest the argument.

II.

“Oakfield,” a novel, was written in 1853 by William Delafield Arnold. The writer was a son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby and, therefore, a brother of Matthew Arnold. He spent some years in a sepoy regiment, and then obtained the post of Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab. He died at Gibraltar on his way home to England.

Of William Arnold, Matthew Arnold in “A Southern Night” wrote:—

Thy memory, thy pain, to-night
My brother! and thine early lot
Possess me quite.
The murmur of this midland deep
Is heard to-night around thy grave,
There, where Gibraltar's cannon'd steep
O'erfrowns the wave.
For there with bodily anguish keen,
With Indian heats at last foredone,
With public toil and private teen—
Thou sank'st alone.
Slow to a stop, at morning grey,
I see the smoke-crowned vessel come,
Slow round her paddles dies away
The seething foam.
A boat is lowered from her side;
Ah! gently place him on the bench!
That spirit—if all have not died—
A breath might quench.

“Oakfield” is undoubtedly largely autobiography. In the story, Edward Oakfield, a clergyman's son, who after taking his degree at Oxford is living on there, suddenly decides to accept an ensignship in the East India Company's army. Indifferent like Arnold of Rugby to dogma, but clinging sternly to his ideal of duty, he is revolted by the conventionality of English social and religious ideas. As a clergyman he sees no escape and gives

up the idea of holy orders. What else is left? "The bar? I would rather learn to plough in a remote colony." "I see only two courses open,—either to quit society altogether, or to mix in it on its own terms." He felt that if he stayed in England in any profession open to him, he would fail to realize his ideals, nay he would cease to strive for them.

"But do you expect," said his sister, "that going to India will free you from these dangers and difficulties?"

"Ah stop! You are getting on too fast; what I am telling you now is why I left Oxford; I do not know what I go to, but I know that what I leave is full of danger to me."

And so, impelled by a conviction that the daily spectacle of social and religious enormities, utterly irreconcilable with the faith he held, must have a bad effect on a man's mind, leading him to acquiesce in what is false and monstrous, and with a vague idea that in the "colonies" a less sophisticated and purer atmosphere might be met with, Oakfield left England, only to be plunged straight into the officers' mess of one of the worst sepoy regiments in India!

The result was inevitable. What military society in India was like before the Mutiny we know from Lang's "The Wetherbys." Ovid in Tomi was a far happier man. Straight from Oxford, from a sober and disciplined home, from the haunts of ancient peace, Oakfield, that is, Arnold, became a member of a society of men of no education, who never spoke without an oath, who gambled, were in debt, fought duels, and never mentioned the country and its people without contempt and hate. Arnold's hero was unfortunate in getting into a particularly bad regiment; but, as things were before 1857, most messes would have disgusted him.

"I do not mean," writes Oakfield of his mess, "only that the higher elements of the gentlemanly character are wanting. Courtesy to inferiors—Heaven save the mark in this country! fancy talking to an officer of courtesy to a native!—honesty in money transaction and so on; but

there is not even a refinement of outward manners ; so far from being above, they seem infinitely below par in this respect. I had always thought of a mess as the abode of luxurious refinement, even, it might be, to effeminacy. I find it a bad tavern. I had not expected to hear literary conversation at a mess table, but still less such appalling ribaldry as I did hear in the fortnight during which I belonged to the mess. I am not likely to be prudish in these matters : I have spent all my life at Winchester and Oxford, and at both places have been in company with boys and men who were noted for this style of conversation, but am quite certain that a man, saying, at a wine party, such things as are common at the 81st mess, would have been kicked out of the room as a gross offender, I do not say against morality, but gentlemanly taste. They pride themselves on a very subtle distinction between dinner and after dinner. A man is supposed to be reasonably decent while the cloth is on the table but may compensate himself by the utmost license of blackguardism directly it is off. I stayed in the mess for a fortnight, but could not stand it any longer ; so now I live alone. . . . There are more officers than gentlemen, and there are two men who appear to be both."

Starting life under these unpropitious circumstances Oakfield was not likely to have a great love for the country. But the detestation and hatred of the land which peeps out in every page become almost nauseating. Stanton, an Anglo-Indian of ten years' standing, is made to say :

"Of course I did not like India, nobody does. People who ship their sons off to India every day, little think to what a blighted life they are sending them."

One evening Oakfield sat next to a civilian at dinner. He asked him how he liked the country and his magisterial work. He hated the former and apparently took very little interest in the latter.

In another place there is a discussion about the inhabitants of the land. While Oakfield protests against

some of the stronger expressions of dislike, even he accepts the charge that they are unblushing perjurers in the courts, and consequently almost despairs of the whole race. As Sir Alfred Lyall said, "He does them the very common injustice of measuring their conduct by an ideal standard of morality. Anglo-Indian officials leave their country at an early age, in almost total ignorance of the darker side of English life as seen in a police court or wherever the passions and interests of men come into sharp conflict. . . . In consequence they stand aghast at the exhibition of vice and false swearing. A London magistrate transferred to Lucknow or Lahore would find much less reason for astonishment."

It is an interesting study—Oakfield revolted by almost every phase of Indian life, the climate, the ugliness of the country, the people, both English and Indian, the lack of any nobility of aim in government or its officials—yet clinging to his ideals, despite his instincts. Like the author of the book, Oakfield returned home only to die, though unlike Arnold, he reached the shores of England. How great Arnold's dislike to India must have been is shown by one of the closing incidents of the book. Herbert Oakfield, Oakfield's younger brother, fired by stories of Indian life, is eager to adopt an Indian career, like his brother. A friend of Oakfield, Wykham, performs what the author obviously regarded as a supreme service, which is ultimately rewarded by the hand of Oakfield's sister, by dissuading Herbert from the idea.

"I tell you, Herby, you would hate India; everybody does. The best men, such as your own brother, who work hard and as it is said, *get on*, hate it; idle good-for-nothing dogs like myself hate it. Perhaps the worst like it best; they can get drunk there, and that is about all they want; but even they hate a country where beer and wine are expensive."

Such were the unsparing statements which could be made in a novel written with a high moral purpose sixty

years ago. Imperialism, and the higher conception of duty which it has brought with it, coupled with an enormous material improvement in the condition of our lives, has made such a statement untrue, even if it ever was true; and, besides that, there has been a moral change, in that we should regard such reviling of the land we live in as indecent and an offence to all good Anglo-Indian patriots. But William Arnold lived sixty years ago; he wrote without hope and utterly without humour, in deep dislike of the country and in heartsick longing for the sweet things of the homeland. *Non cuivis adire Corinthum*—it is not within everyone's capacity to find India congenial. And many a man, both Englishman and Indian, in these latter days has found the transition from the physical and mental activities of English university or city life to the corresponding aridities of an Indian up-country station inexpressibly painful. And if such a man ever cease to suffer, it is because in the midst of overmuch work—or play—he has ceased to remember, and perhaps ceased to think. Arnold never forgot and always suffered; and if we do not repine as he did, it is because our minds are of grosser texture, our paths laid in pleasanter places, and our outlook unconsciously modified by a higher sense of duty to India than was fashionable sixty years ago.

III.

Turn we now from melancholy in prose to melancholy in verse. And for our typical example let us take "Indian Lyrics," a book of verse possibly forgotten now but not deserving of complete oblivion. William Trego Webb, of the Bengal Educational Service, published his "Indian Lyrics" at Calcutta in 1884, in which year they were reviewed in the *Calcutta Review*. "The life of a European in India," said the reviewer, "is to Mr. Webb merely a dismal exile of monotony and routine." "We wish that Mr. Webb, instead of accentuating and intensifying the sadder features of our life here, had attempted to

invest them with a new interest and dignity." Just though this criticism was, Webb, unlike William Arnold, was the fortunate possessor of a sense of humour, and the struggle between this sense of humour and Webb's ingrained tendency to melancholy has not a little interest. Certainly the critic rises from the perusal of the Lyrics convinced that though there are undoubtedly better places to live in than India, yet it is not such a land of unrelieved misery as "Oakfield" would suggest.

The book opens with a series of sonnets on "Our Indian Servants," in which, sonnet by sonnet, each of the ordinary servants of an Indian household is characterized in clever verse, though whether it was as seemly as it was clever to "fit the ordinary features of a *punkah-wallah* or a *syce* into the solemn cadence of the sonnet" may be doubted. The mythical kite that breaks the *khitmatgar's* dish, whenever an excuse is needed; the *khansamah's* bill, daily dread of the housewife; and the steed that grows spare as the *syce* grows fat, all obtain their due meed of the poet's attention. As illustrative of the humour of these sonnets, the closing lines of the sonnet on "The Malli" are worth quoting :

But wonder fills me where those Mallis go
That deck our homes with flowers week after week,
And day by day, though scant our gardens show.
Some say they forage mid the grave-stones bleak,
It boots not, friend, to ask ; enough to know.
The Earth hath flowers and Mallis eyes to seek.

Next follows another series of sonnets, "Ourselves and Others," in which are characterized all the ordinary inhabitants of a station, the Civilian, the Surgeon-Major, the Judge, the Professor, the Policeman, and so on. Whether in his sonnet on the Station Chaplain, "placed in this land with no soul-mastering aim," in which we meet with a touch of Oakfield's fire, he was unjust to the chaplains of thirty years ago, may be left to men who remember them to decide; but when he tells us that to his stubborn world, the worse for Indian wear,

Repentance seems a dream and Faith a name,
So smaller duties claim him ; schools are planned
Or tombs repaired, or when such labours pall
In grassy courts he smites the flying ball,

we seem to recognize that certain features have not yet changed. Nor is Webb's sonnet on the Professor less true now than then.. In defiance of the truism that the Indian student wishes to learn English and not dialects of it, Webb tells us

To divers climes indigenous, his speech .
Varies as his instruction. Here to wit,
Sound the broad accents of the northern Scot ;
A son of Erin there essays to teach,
Or wight of German stock. Their scholars sit
Blank faced till use makes plain the polyglot.

Anyone who has listened to the babel of tongues, Scotch, English, Irish, Teutonic, Swedish and nondescript, which may be heard any fortnight at a meeting of the Senate, has a profound sympathy for that compulsory polyglot, the Indian student.

We may note, in passing, the " Eurasian," of whom

Methinks I hear indignant Nature cry,
" O England, who are these, if not thy sons ? "

After these two series of sonnets, however, in which his humour is allowed fair play, Webb's melancholy begins to get the better of him. He stands on the Kutub Minar. His closing thought is :

Here, where I climb,
Afar our English Delhi shineth well :—
Shall she fall, like the cities of the prime ?

This is a trend of thought to which he recurs more than once, as for instance in " The Song of Death"—

Ah ! in far years shall cruel slaughter .
Glut here her ire, as once of yore ?
Shall these broad streams and wells' still water
Be dyed with English blood once more ?

Perhaps the Mutiny was not yet so remote as to make such foreboding inexcusable. But they illustrate the gloomy tendency of Webb's mind.

On the Ganges, he can only think of the river as a picture of Man's life. As eddies and currents suck the swimmer under, so

From the desolate
Blind depths dark eddies swift, that lurk beneath,
Stretch dreadful arms to seize him: Time and Fate,
Pain and Desire and Fear, Despair and Death.

"Slaughter 'Ghaut, Cawnpore," "The Residency Churchyard, Lucknow," "A Himalayan Cemetery," "In Memoriam, Lord Mayo," "Baby's Grave," "Indian Cemeteries," and similar lugubrious subjects provide Webb with congenial themes and add to the prevailing gloom.

It is in the "Lyrical Pieces," which form the bulk of the book, that Webb tries most persistently to be a light and humorous poet, and yet time after time almost involuntarily shows himself to be at heart pessimist. He chooses light themes, such as "The Old Punkah-wallah" and the "Mosquito;" he attempts light treatment, as in "The Parsi Hat;" but he is at his best in dirges, in poems on cemeteries, and when he is telling us in one way or another what an uncomfortable place India is.

How can love in the plains be sweet
Stifled and scorched by the fierce May heat?

he cries in one poem, in constant refrain. Sometimes his thoughts fly to the joys of being buried in a Himalayan cemetery, where the English snow would fall lightly around him! At another time in "Indian Cemeteries" he shudders at the idea of being buried under "those mammoth structures drear," so well known to us in Calcutta.

Some of us, revelling in the beauty of the "gold-mohur" and other spring flowers in Bengal, fail to see why a poem on "Spring in Calcutta" shall be necessarily a gloomy thing. Not so Webb.

See, blurred with amber haze, the sun
'Neath yon dim flats doth sink to rest;
And tender thoughts, that homeward run,
Move fondly with him to the west.

They leave these hot and weary hours,
The iron fate that girds us round,
And wander 'mid the meadow flowers
And breezy heights of English ground.

The sun is set ; we'll dream no more ;
Vainly for us the vision smiles ;
Why did we quit thy pleasant shore,
Our happiest of the western isles ?

The climax—the splendid and ringing climax—of Webb's melancholy is reached in "The Song of Death," the one poem of the book which of itself shows that Webb laughed at life less easily and less congenially than he looked in the face of death.

My fellow exiles, fill your glasses,
We'll sing one song before we die ;
The tiger in the jungle-grasses
Has sucked the peasant's life-blood dry :
Forth from his hole the cobra creeping
Steals slow across the cottage floor
To where yon weary mother's sleeping :—
Methinks her babe will wake no more.

Webb laughed at mosquitos and crows and white ants and *punkah-wallahs* and *zemindars* and the hats of Parsis, but his laughter was forced and unreal ; he always returned to protest against the heat and misery and desolation and death of the country he lived in. The protest comes in "Spring in Calcutta ;" in "The Song of Death" and in "The Gorgeous East ;" less clearly in "Jackals," "Rain," "Indian Cemeteries," "Ode to a Mosquito," "Night Noises" and many another. But nowhere more clearly and more defiantly did Webb utter it than in his outburst in "The Song of Death"—

Accept this earnest of our duty,
Thy slaves and not thy sons are we ;
Thou grave of England's strength and beauty,
Hear how we sing to Death and thee !

The closing poems of the book are collected under the title "Rhymes of the P. & O." Such verse is capable of infinitely varied treatment ; but though it inevitably contains a good deal of humour, it cannot escape the prevailing tone of Webb's mind. On the boat returning to India there is a lady rejoining her husband ;

She thinks not of the purple heaven,
 But of a summer passed away ;
 When through sweet English woods she went,
 Farewells and partings half forgot,
 And with those little children bent
 To pluck the blue forget-me-not.

But now : ‘

Alone those little children run ‘ ‘
 To pluck the blue forget-me-not.

The “ Lay of Sea Sickness ” naturally provides Webb with a theme suited to his lugubrious heart, though he gives it the conventional treatment of simulated seriousness :—

The voice of the singer is dumb,
 The piano is silent and lone,
 The captain is flippant of tone
 And jests at humanity’s woe.

The climax comes when he goes home in a boat with eighty children on board ! And here perhaps we may cease to carp at his repining, fully admitting that India is *not* worth while, if, to get out of it, a mere man must live for three weeks or a month cooped up with eighty children !

In this worst of all horrible ships
 Eighty children are sailing,
 And a Babel resounds from their lips
 Of laughter and wailing.

How I long for that golden prime
 Of tempestuous weather,
 When we all had a peaceable time
 Of illness together.

Webb was an altogether slighter man than William Arnold. But his “ Indian Lyrics ” illustrate our present topic equally well with “ Oakfield ” and perhaps better. In “ Oakfield ” there is no fight against pessimism ; Webb’s melancholy is shot through with humour ; he laughs through his tears though the tears are there all the time. He does not allow himself wholly to be overcome ; there is much at which he repines, but he looks bravely for the compensations ; for many aspects of Indian life he has a profound distaste, and expresses that distaste ; but he *does* fight, as far as in him lies, against an unworthy repining ; sometimes in his struggle he goes too far and

his cheerfulness is palpably forced as when he cries in what is perhaps the most pathetic poem of all :—

Don't talk of Old England in patriot vein,
I'm sick of its clouds and its fogs and its rain ;
For a climate that's cheerful, not fickle and drear,
Give *me* the clear sky that shines over us here.

But apart from false and hollow protestations of the sort, he *does* fight against his melancholy vein, and if he does not completely conquer it, who are we to sit in judgment ? The *Calcutta Review* in 1884 condemned him for unduly accentuating the sadder side of our English life in India ; but if Englishmen were as outspoken as they are reserved, and had the skill to express their feelings, how many of us would differ in the ultimate texture of our minds from that of Webb ? For we *are* exiles ; we do pine for the sweeter things of English life, for the keener and deeper play of intellect that is possible there, for the mental vigour that deserts so many of us under the sun of Bengal ; for the wider access to books, music and the drama ; for the more frequent contact with minds better than our own, for the delight of rosy cheeks and children's voices and the wisdom of the greybeard grandfather ; for the keener human sympathy that tends to desert us and leave us cold and hard, as we live year after year in a land whose people we do not understand and whose people do not understand us. And there are many who in the melancholy induced by too prolonged and unsatisfied longing for these things, put up a poorer fight than Webb. His melancholy is the secret unexpressed melancholy of us all, unexpressed not because we do not feel it, but mainly because it has gone out of fashion to express it. But if we escape because we drug our minds completely with the narcotic of work, or of those varied pastimes which rob us of the time, even if we have the inclination, to think, Webb chose the better part ; for it is good from time to time to think of the typical things of English life, and it is not good, even for the sake of our mental comfort, to forget the pleasaunces of our own land.

“THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE.”

BY W. DOUGLAS.

THERE are few things in the history of Europe more remarkable than the lasting influence of the life and literature of the old Greek states. Greek writings are still used in our schools and colleges as the most valuable text-books on Metaphysics and Geometry. Our literature is steeped in Greek ideas and ideals; our public buildings are of Greek architecture; our politicians are trained in the school of Greek history and Greek thought. The development of our Christian institutions owes much to Greek influence. The revival of Greek learning was perhaps the most important element in that humanistic movement which breathed new life into Europe four centuries ago. We are surrounded by “the glory that was Greece.”

What then was it which gave the Greeks the power of projecting their civilization down the life of the future in this remarkable way? There was, I think, a combination of causes. I wish to speak of one of these, not because I consider it to be the most important, but because I think it is extremely characteristic and because I have never seen it pointed out in any of the commentaries on Greek life and literature.

I refer to the fact that the Greeks “kept their eyes open.” They were fond of “looking round about” them. Anything that was spectacular appealed to them. I propose to give in this article some illustrations from Greek literature of the fact which I have mentioned.

Some of the most striking are to be found in the “Republic” of Plato. That famous dialogue begins with the words: “I went down yesterday to the Piræus with Glaucon, the son of Ariston, to offer up prayer to the

goddess, and also from a wish to see how the festival, then to be held for the first time, would be celebrated. I was very much pleased with the native Athenian procession ; though that of the Thracians appeared to be no less brilliant."

At the beginning of the second book of the "Republic" Plato classifies "goods" into three kinds. One of these kinds consists of goods which are "desirable not only in themselves, but also for their results." A modern writer would probably mention health and knowledge as belonging to such a category ; it would hardly occur to him to think of one of the senses in this connection. Even if it did he would certainly not rank "sight" along with "knowledge" and "health." Yet these are exactly the three "goods" which Plato mentions together as examples of this class.

Let us test our principle by an example from the other end of the scale. In the ninth book of the "Republic" Plato is describing what he calls the "most miserable life of all." What kind of a life is it ? Is it the life of a man who is debarred from reading ? Is it the life of a man who is physically deformed ? Let us hear Plato's own words :

"His soul is dainty and greedy, and yet alone, of all men in the city, he is never allowed to go on a journey, or to see the things which other freemen desire to see, but he lives in his hole like a woman hidden in the house, and is jealous of any other citizen who goes into foreign parts and sees anything of interest."

The most miserable man then, according to Plato, is simply the man who is not allowed to see the sights. And this is not a private view of his own. He is giving this, as the context shows, as the generally accepted view of what "misery" is.

I have one other example from the "Republic." When Plato wishes to express by a metaphor what the nature of knowledge is, he finds his parallel in the sense

of sight. And he presses this parallel so closely and in so many details that he is obviously convinced that sight is something almost as noble as knowledge—that it too gives us a direct revelation of the nature of reality.

The motive which inspired the travels of both Solon and Plato was, according to their biographers, the desire of "theoria" or "gazing," "looking round." What impressed Herodotus on his travels, even more than inventions or clever stories, was the grand sights which he saw. His conception of the function of the historian seems rather strange to the modern reader. "Lydia," he says, "unlike most other countries, scarcely offers any wonders for the historian to describe, except the gold-dust which is washed down from the range of Tmolus."

No nation has ever had such a passion for theatres as the Greeks had. What is the explanation of this? It is found, I think, in the word "theatre" itself. Our word is simply the Greek word; it means "a place of seeing." The Greeks went to the theatre to see. They would have laughed at some of Ibsen's plays which are all dialogue and no scenery.

Greek poetry is full of the joys of sight. The poets of Greece did not attempt to *interpret* Nature, as our poets do. They simply state what they see. They revel in the wonderful world which sight reveals. Rapid flashing movement appeals to them. Æschylus constantly uses the leaping flame of fire in metaphors and similes. Beauty of form fascinates them, and the contrast of light and shade (the same feeling occurs frequently in Tennyson who is deeply influenced by Greek poetry). They love brightness and variety of colour. Their world is not that of the rugged mountains so beloved by the Celt, but the homely world of streams and fields and woods.

We find the same thing in Greek tragedy. The dying man addresses his last farewells not to his friends and relations but to Light and the Sun. What he feels most keenly in his last moments is not the loss of companions

but the fact that he must give up for ever the pleasures of sight. In the play of Sophocles, Ajax, before falling on his sword, invokes the great powers. The last to be invoked is the Sun. Then follow his farewells. His last words are :—

O Death !. O Death !.
Now come and welcome ! Yet with thee, hereafter,
I shall find close communion where I go,
But unto thee, fresh beam of shining Day,
And thee, thou travelling Sun-God, I may speak
Now, and no more for ever. O fair light!
O sacred fields of Salamis, farewell !
This one last word of Ajax peals to you ;
Henceforth my speech will be with souls unseen.

In the play of Æschylus, the last cry of Prometheus is to

Circling Ether, that diffusest
Light, a common joy to all.

Even in "Euripides the human" the same attitude is found. When Medea announces her intention of slaying her children, the Chorus cry :—

O Earth, our mother ; and thou
All-seer, arrowy crown
Of Sunlight, manward now
Look down, Oh, look down !
Look upon one accurst,
Ere yet in blood she twine
Red hands—blood that is thine !
O Sun, save her first !
She is thy daughter still,
Of thine own golden line ;
Save her ! Or shall man spill
The life divine ?

We find the same mode of thought in the Greeks' attitude to the life after death. They never thought of the future life as a life in which we should find a fuller revelation of reality than we have here. A Greek would have no sympathy with the view implied by many modern poets and philosophers—that the senses are dull and coarse, concealing more than they reveal. Hades was to the Greek a place of perpetual darkness. The life after death was only a shadow of the life on earth—a mere mockery. A man is doomed to perpetual existence in

a world of unreality ; total extinction, they felt, would have been infinitely preferable. Achilles says :—

Rather would I in the sun's warmth divine
Serve a poor churl who drags his days in grief,
Than the whole lordship of the dead were mine.

Homer makes us shiver with his description of the journey to the "sunless land" :—

Meanwhile the spirits of the suitors quelled
Cyllenian Hermes summoned forth and drew
Down from the sunlight ; in his hands he held
Wand of pure gold, right beautiful to view,
Even that wand which can men's eyes subdue,
Whomso he listeth in long sleep to cast,
Or sleeping wake to breathe and feel anew,
Therewith he led them ; the ghosts gibbering fast
Flocked with low whine behind him, as adown he passed.

And as when bats, amid the far recess
Of some great cave, flit gibbering and squeak low
* If from the rock where clusteringly they press,
One fall away, and the long chain let go,
While with soft whirr they huddle again ; c'en so
Clustered the dim ghosts gibbering in their fear,
Whom Hermes, giver of all good below,
On through the wide waste places, cold and drear,
Down to the sunless land was leading void of cheer.

The greatest calamity to a Greek was not death or insanity or deformity but blindness. Blindness was worse than death. It was a premature loss of life's greatest blessing. It meant to be helpless, to be laughed at, to lose all the enjoyment of life, to be a dead man among living men. One cannot imagine a Greek who had been struck blind, writing as Milton did :—

So much the rather thou, Celestial light,
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight.

We have learned many things which the Greeks did not know. But we have also forgotten, or failed to learn, some of the things which the Greeks knew. And one of these things is that to see things for ourselves is a much more natural and delightful and satisfactory way of learning than to read about them in books.

W. DOUGLAS.

MUHAMMADAN MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN CALCUTTA.

BY A. F. M. MOHSIN ALI.

THE highest ambition of a Muhammadan matron in India is to see her son married. The desire to dispose of her daughters in marriage is also great, but the desire in the former case—and here she differs from the Christian mothers of the West—is greater. With so much hope and eagerness does she look forward to this incident in her future life, that one is almost tempted to say that these ladies have a new criterion for maternal happiness. “Call no woman happy till she has seen the face of a daughter-in-law” may well be said to be a principle which every matron blessed with a son cherishes almost as an article of faith.

The age at which a son must marry differs according to the ideas his parents may happen to hold on the subject. Among the uneducated classes the ambition of the mother can be realized whenever she pleases. Her son may be of any age, as long as he is not a mere child, absolute child marriages being discouraged. But among the higher classes of Muhammadan Society the marriage age is generally above eighteen, while the event is occasionally delayed until the son is in a position to support a wife. But when the father of the marrying son is a rich man, the latter condition does not receive any consideration, since the joint-family system amply provides in such cases for the maintenance of the daughter-in-law. The age of the bride does not matter. Her age may be anywhere between ten and the age of her prospective husband, but must not exceed it. It may be mentioned here that the mother of the marrying

son likes very much to have as young a daughter-in-law as is reasonably possible. This desire may perhaps be a mere fancy for a sweet little artificial daughter, but one is inclined to suspect in some cases that it is due to the mother-in-law's prosaic intention of "ladying" it over the daughter-in-law for a longer period of time than she will have in the case of a grown-up person.

When the parents have once for all determined to "give in marriage" their dutiful son a regular Foreign Office affair begins. The mother of the son is the Chief Foreign Minister as far as the ceremonial part of it is concerned. The father is the Assistant Minister and looks after the more business-like aspects of the case. But of course the final word rests with the Chief. The same thing happens at the house of the bride-to-be. Instead of having two diplomatic agents at the two matrimonial capitals, they have one. This very important personage has great powers and greater influence on the *entente cordiale*, which is necessary before pourparlers are possible with a view to a matrimonial alliance. In all cases this agent is a woman : in fact, the agent *must* be a woman, as will be seen later on. She is known as the *Mashata* or matrimonial agent.

Muhammadan women in India are *pardah nashin*. They do not show their face to strangers and no men who are not relations are allowed to enter where they reside. The *Mashata's* professional name is a charmed word and before it the door of all harems fly open. It is her business to keep a mental stock of the number of marriageable sons and daughters in the different families she visits, their various personal charms and accomplishments, their age, their sweetness of temper, the wealth or poverty of the parents, and so on ; in fact, all those little details which are so dear to the heart of all prospective mothers-in-law and their husbands. Thus, it is an absolute necessity for all ambitious young people to be in the good graces of the *Mashata*. This fact is demonstrated in rather

a curious manner in the case of girls. A determined opposition to show herself to the *Mashata* and a recurring desire to run away as soon as she comes into view is accepted as the most proper thing that a maiden can do, when the agent is in the house. This is proof positive to the lynx-eyes of the *Mashata* that the maiden is a modest person and not one of those hideously forward young women, who, according to them, make such bad wives.

As soon as the parents have finished consulting and decided that it is high time their son got married—even though other people think otherwise—the services of the *Mashata* are engaged for a certain fixed sum. She has her mental gazetteer ready for their information, and if something out of the common be needed in the daughter-in-law that is to be, she promises to get the right sort of person in the course of a few days,—and such are her powers that she generally succeeds. When she satisfies the parents that there is a desirable *parti* which may suit them, the father gives her a letter, not of introduction, but one giving a complete description of the bridegroom: his ancestry and his various qualifications. It is here that the poor son comes in—and then only for a description on paper. Otherwise he is a nonentity, a live dummy; a mere figurehead, which must dance to the matrimonial tune of his well-intentioned parents.

A case came to the notice of the writer in which a young college student came to grief through the boldness of his matrimonial attitude, which amounted almost to unfilial conduct. The father of this young man had arranged for a bride after his own heart. The news had to be broken to him. In this case a third person was delegated by the parents to perform this task. The son, who had unfortunately ideas of his own on this subject, and had as much sense of humour as he was bold, coolly heard him to the end about the houri-like beauty of his intended and then dropped a bomb on him by saying “Well, if my father likes her so much and as he has taken

such a lot of trouble, why does he not marry her himself and present me with a handsome mother No. 2 instead of pitching upon me?" I do not know whether the young man has been made to marry the girl of his father's choice, or is still enjoying the bliss of single blessedness, but I know that he received a rather severe thrashing from the righteously indignant father. Some neighbours remarked that it was almost a case for the police, and that the poor fellow was thrashed within an inch of his life—which of course is a mere hyperbole, after the fashion of sympathetic neighbours.

To return to the *Mashata*. She then goes to the other party, armed with that letter from the father of the boy. If the other party be agreeable, the father of the bride-to-be writes back in the third person singular, speaking about himself and saying very little about the girl. These "notes" being exchanged, the *entente cordiale* is established and both the parties begin to look forward to the *pourparlers*. But before they can take place, the number, value and quality of the "gifts" from the bride's parents to the bridegroom and those from the bridegroom's parents to the bride are settled. If there is a satisfactory arrangement about these, they may then take up the great question of the *Dain-mahr*.

The *Dain-mahr* is a stipulated amount of money which the husband undertakes to pay the wife as a marriage gift, but this is more or less a formality, for usually the money is not paid. It is only when the marriage proves an unhappy one and when she wants to live apart, that the wife can sue the husband to pay half the fixed amount. She can have the remaining half if the husband divorces her. In case she dies before the husband the *Dain-mahr*, which is a sort of debt (*dain* = debt), is chargeable on the property of her husband by her heirs. The *Dain-mahr* is generally a big round sum and one which is fixed in such a way that the husband cannot conveniently pay it off without going into the Bankruptcy Court.

It is a sort of safeguard against the rather loose and easy divorce laws prevalent among the Muhammadans. It is of course the Business of the bride's father to increase the amount as much as possible, while the father of the bridegroom tries to lessen it. Thus there is a regular tug-of-war over this question till the amount of the *dain* is settled. It need hardly be mentioned that the *Mashata*, who is the agent for both the parties and is an intermediary between the two, has very much to do with the satisfactory arrangement of these terms.

This done, comes the all-important visit of the mother of the boy to the mother of the girl in order personally to see and approve of the previous selection by the *Mashata* of her would-be daughter-in-law. The mother of the girl dresses her up in her best and awaits the advent of the other lady. If, as has been stated, the would-be bridegroom is a nonentity, a live dummy, a mere figurehead, the would-be bride is more so. She is entirely at the mercy of her parents. She has neither choice nor voice in the matter. And if she dare say a word either for or against her parent's wishes, she instantly becomes a social outcast and the object of general censure. For such an act is supposed to bring down disgrace and shame of the deepest dye on the parental heads. Such are some of the conventions of society behind the *purdah*.

The mother of the son is received with open arms by the mother of the daughter. A feast, suitable to the occasion, is prepared and the visiting party is warmly entertained. The visitors are then conducted to the room where the girl is awaiting inspection with a fluttering heart. Extreme modesty is prescribed for such occasions and so she becomes a Gibraltar of shyness with her eyes shut! The mother with due pride removes the cloth covering her head and face and exposes them to the critical view of the lady inspectors. Then the girl is made to stand up, which she does in the most inanimate style possible and with the support of the protecting arms

of her mother. This is done to show that the girl has no physical infirmity. She is next made to open her eyes to let the ladies know that she is not blind. She does this for a wee bit of time—perhaps for a second, perhaps for two, fixes them on the ground with all maidenly modesty and immediately shuts them again. The whole process is meanwhile being punctuated by the attendant *Mashata* with hyperbolic and fictitious praises of the sweetness of her temper and the beauty of her mind—the two things which the mother of the boy has no chance of realizing before the marriage, and which perhaps are the two most important questions in the whole affair. If the inspecting ladies approve of the selection of her agent, she shows her approval by making the girl a present of some ornament or other or perhaps a few rupees according to her powers. This settles the question as far as the girl herself is personally concerned, and the ceremony comes to an end to the great satisfaction of the ladies of both the houses. But if the mother of the boy happens not to approve of the selection of her agent, she does not speak out at once, but with a picture-post-card smile on her face, which may mean anything, tells the mother of the girl that she will let her know in the course of a few days—which is only a polite and diplomatic way of saying that the proposal has come to an end.

• After the mother of the boy has made the final selection, the father goes over to the house of the other party in order to have a conference in which the matrimonial “terms” are to be decided finally. It is purely a masculine party just as the previous party was a feminine one. The bride’s people prepare another feast for the occasion. But in this case all business must be finished before the visitors will consent to break bread. It need hardly be said that the delegates are the oldest and the wisest heads. Young men have no place in that council. The “terms” previously settled by “notes” through the *Mashata* are

formally ratified and then the dates of the *Lagan* and the wedding days are fixed. When all business is done, the dinner—this conference generally sitting at night—is served, and after it, with mutual goodwill and pleasant wishes, the visitors depart—to come again with the bridegroom with all the paraphernalia of a wedding party on the happy day of the main ceremony.

The *Lagan* is a ceremony which precedes the wedding. It is what the people of the West may call the engagement ceremony. The girl is engaged to the boy, *i.e.*, the parents of the girl are engaged to the parents of the boy to marry their respective offspring to each other. When the engagement has become a matter of certainty a band of Indian musicians are engaged night and day to play music at intervals. The sight of these musicians at at one's house is a sure sign of a wedding ceremony there at no distant date.

The *Lagan* ceremony takes place at night. The girl is dressed in one of the *Lagan* red-bordered *saris* and turmeric powder and oil are then rubbed on her body. When this ceremony is taking place all males are asked to leave the portion of the house where it is conducted. Exact details are difficult to ascertain for obvious reasons and ladies are mysteriously silent on this point and do not condescend to enlighten people of the other sex as to what exactly happens. It is said that candles are lighted, that red threads are tied round the bride's wrists, that queer ceremonies take place and that the bride keeps vigil at the dead of night for Heaven knows what! Similar things go on at the bridegroom's house also. The man dresses himself in a new, white garment and has to submit himself without any audible complaint to the delightful operation of being painted yellow before the eyes of his people.

The *Lagan* is fixed to take place on the third, fifth, seventh or ninth day before the wedding or on any day which is an odd number being counted back from that date. The process of painting with the yellow stuff and the other

allied ceremonies are continued night after night till the night before the wedding day. Thus people who get married have an exceedingly uncomfortable time of it for those days, but they have to bow to the time-honoured customs of the land. There is not much logic about them, but in the East customs have the force of law, and no marriage can take place without the yellow stains of the *Lagan*.

In the meantime people at both the houses are busy with the arrangement of various little and big things which are necessary to the success of a wedding. Invitation cards are sent out. In case of married people wedding sweets and betel-nuts are taken to them personally by some relation or other of the inviting party, supplemented with invitation cards and verbal requests to come to the inviting house at least two days before the ceremony comes off. Immediate relations come on or before the *Lagan* day and help the mothers. Everything is bustle and excitement at the two houses. And yet the mothers have to keep a cool head, for they are the pivots on which the whole thing turns. At the house of the bride the parents are busy making preparations for the wedding feast. Young people are busy taking care of the precious bride and tell her all about what is happening in the house. Jokes are the order of the day for these people, and they chase each other noisily through the house and douché each other to their hearts' content with red and blue paint. They enjoy themselves immensely, although the poor girl who is to be a bride and is the cause of all this merriment and fun may not come out of her room after the *Lagan* till the wedding. She keeps to herself by night and by day—and perhaps engages herself in making wild guesses as to what sort of a man she is going to marry and what is in store for her in the days to come.

As for the bridegroom, if he be a philosopher he pursues a policy of masterly indifference; if not, he tries

to waylay a sympathetic grandmother or even the *Mashata* herself and pumps out as much information as possible about his future wife. But he can never be content, for what he thus learns is hopelessly insufficient and cannot satisfy his thirst for knowledge. He has to "wait and see." Thus the two people who are most vitally concerned know nothing of each other. To the people of the West this sort of thing may seem to be going to perdition with one's eyes open, but in the East all parents, who had to go through this sort of thing in their own time, agree that it leads to the steps which ascend into Paradise !

By the eve of the wedding day almost all the *purdah* guests will have arrived with their wedding presents, either in cash or in brass or copper utensils. They come and help in the general work of the wedding preparations and the ceremonies. The ceremony on this night is an interesting event. A band of musicians—all women—known as the *Mer-seen* has been engaged since the *Lagan* to play native music and sing wedding carols. People with musical ears have agreed that their music is more or less a noise than the real thing. Be that as it may, on that night there is an abundance of such noise. In the courtyard of both the houses a wooden platform is placed. Four plantain trees are posted at the four corners with a coloured piece of awning over them. Under this impromptu pavilion, known as the *Marwatala*, the would-be bride is brought. She sits on the platform and then an anointment ceremony begins. She is surrounded by all her people. A relation, either a maiden aunt, or at least one not a widow, steps out with a bottle of scented oil in her hands and pours out all its contents on the girl's head ! To keep the oil from her eyes, she is made to hold a big *pan* leaf over them. While this is going on there is a regular babel of happy tongues around the *Marwatala* and the band of musicians try to acquit themselves beautifully by producing the most wonderful musical noise and that of the greatest volume. This bath with scented oil over, she is

helped back to her room where the palm of her hands and finger nails as well as the soles of her feet are dyed with the famous Henna, the pulp of *Mehdi* leaves, which leaves a dark red stain behind. This is considered a great personal adornment. Exactly the same ceremony takes place at the bridegroom's house, only the central figure there is the bridegroom instead of the bride.

Wedding cards are sent out inviting people to come and join the wedding procession at 8 o'clock in the morning. But punctuality has nothing to do with the events of the wedding day. It is manifestly impossible to be ready to start at 8 o'clock for a good many things must be done before the procession can be formed. The bridegroom's father knows this and consequently takes out the Police pass for the procession from 12 A.M. to 2 P.M. ! But all the same the time to be mentioned on the invitation cards must be 8 A.M., for such is the custom of the land. On the other hand the bride's people also do the same thing. There also the invitation is for 8 o'clock in the morning, but the guests of the bride's father are not entertained before 10.

It may be mentioned here that the bride's mother has to keep a fast the whole of the wedding day till the time the bride leaves for her husband's house. Now in the East all fasts are broken with fruits. In this case fruits are sent by the bridegroom's father in the morning before the procession starts. So must also the bridal dresses be sent as well as the articles of toilet and those ornaments which are the gift from the bridegroom to the bride. After these have been sent out, the people at the bridegroom's house begin to think of preparing for the wedding journey.

A barber is called in and the bridegroom has a crop and his finger nails are pared. Then he is given a good bath and he becomes free from the yellow-stained and oil soaked clothes of the previous nights. The bride too at her house is having a bath at this time and is going through her toilet. The bridegroom is now dressed in

all the splendour of the gorgeous dresses which have been sent by the bride's father. A *sehra* is then tied to his headdress. It consists of a pasteboard from which hang wreaths of little white flowers up to the feet. It is a sort of a floral veil for him. He is then taken to the *Marwatala*, where he is surrounded by all the ladies in the house. His mother gives him a cup of milk to drink. When he has done so, the mother asks him "Where are you going, my son?" The dutiful son respectfully replies "I am going to get a slave for you, mother!" When this reply has been given, the mother gets carried away by her feelings—which, by the way, cannot be easily analysed—and sheds a few tears!

This bit of formality over, the bridegroom is taken to the vehicle awaiting him outside. This vehicle is generally a borrowed one. It is either a landau, a phaeton, a *barouche* or a victoria. Whatever it is, it must be a large one, for it has to accommodate not only the bridegroom, but also quite a large number of young people who think it the height of enjoyment to drive with the bridegroom in the wedding procession. In some cases, however, the bridegroom rides on a *takht* or a decorated wooden throne. This is carried by half-a-dozen or more men on their shoulders. All relations and friends, bedecked in their best, then get into their carriages and a procession is formed. One or two Indian brass bands take their place in it and to the tune of a military march the procession starts for the bride's place. The ladies follow in palanquins, for strict *purdah* ladies do not ride in horse-drawn vehicles. This picturesque procession is a medley of colour and music. All the colours of the rainbow can be found in the dresses of the people in the procession. As for the music, if the *Meraseens* made a mere noise, now, all the bands playing together create a veritable pandemonium of musical notes. The predominant idea with these mad musicians is to make the loudest noise possible and they always succeed.

The reception of the bridegroom and his party is an important event. The bride's people have cleared a big room or a hall on which carpets are spread for their accommodation. No chairs are allowed. A piece of velvet spread over the carpet with bolsters for leaning against is the seat of the bridegroom. When all the bridegroom's relations and friends have been seated, the bridegroom is brought in. A brother-in-law of the bride comes to the carriage or the *takht*, as it may be, takes up the bridegroom bodily in his arms, and deposits him on his seat in the hall! The idea is that the greatest courtesy is shown to the bridegroom if he is thus brought in instead of letting him walk up to the place. The bridegroom is all this time on his best behaviour which consists in not looking at any one in particular but gazing vacantly in front and not speaking with anyone unless it be absolutely necessary and then in discreet whispers. And it is considered the best attitude for him to cover up his mouth and nose all the time with a red bandana handkerchief.

After a few minutes the legal ceremony begins. A Muhammadan Government officer known as the *Quazi*, who is priest and marriage registrar in one, is called in. He comes in with his assistant with a prodigious volume under his arms and a big inkpot and a long quill pen (fountain pens are considered unlucky). Two immediate relations of the bridegroom and two of the bride are then deputed by him to go in and enquire of the bride inside whether she agrees to marry So-and-so on a *dain-mahr* of so many rupees. This affair is a pathetic farce. The four gentlemen walk in, announced by a maidservant, and are taken up to the door of the room where the bride is awaiting her fate. It is said that at this time the young friends of the bride are asked to leave the room and grown people take their place. The spokesman of this matrimonial jury, from outside the room, asks the question to the closed door. "Are you, So-and-so willing," says he, "to take So-and-so, the son of So-and-so,

to husband on a *dain-mahr* of so many thousand rupees?" Now the bride who is almost half-dead by this time with the ordeals of the previous days and nights, feels terribly nervous and can hardly sum up enough courage to give the expected response. The spokesman has to repeat the question at least half-a-dozen times and the relations surrounding her have to coax her alternately for about a dozen times before the fatal response "Yes" is forthcoming. And when it comes it sounds to the strained ears of the gentlemen of the jury like the melancholy whisper of a distant breeze. Now custom lays down that they must hear the response thrice. So the spokesman has to repeat his question time after time before he is rewarded with two more responses of "Yes" from behind the door of the bridal room.

On this plenty of tears are shed by the ladies behind the door. I do not know whether the bride sheds any or not. The gentlemen of the jury have at this time to put up with quite a chorus of suppressed sobbing. Tears on the wedding day may be considered a preposterous idea and extremely unlucky in the West, but in the East—well, people simply cannot do without them on that happy day. The jury, being satisfied, retrace their steps to the hall. They come in with a loud "*Salam-alai-kum*" (Peace be on you) to which all present give the usual reply "*Alai-kum-us-salam*" (On you be peace). The spokesman clears his throat and delivers his verdict, "Willing" with a loud voice and with as much importance as though he were saying "Guilty, my lord!" and then the other part of the legal ceremony begins.

The father of the bride is then placed facing the bridegroom. The *Quazi* says something in Arabic which the father has to repeat to his son-in-law-to-be. The words are to this effect:—"Are you willing to take my daughter So-and-so to wife on a *dain-mahr* of so many rupees, and love her and keep her in sickness and in health?" The man replies "I agree to do so." The question has to be

asked thrice and thrice the bridegroom responds. This formality over, the marriage register is produced, a page of which is filled up before all and the bridegroom signs his name. The gentlemen of the jury affix their signatures to the book as witnesses to the ceremony and legally the bridegroom and the bride have become man and wife—although neither of them have seen each other's face as yet. Then follows a little service in which everyone present joins and blessings are asked for the long life and conjugal happiness of the newly-married couple.

As soon as the service is over the bridegroom stands up and *salaams*, i.e., bows, to all present, on which Indian chocolates, made of brown sugar and dates, are scattered over the heads of the assembly. The youngsters make a scramble for these and there is a scene of confusion for a time. Then the people go to a pavilion outside where the sumptuous wedding breakfast has been laid for them. The latter is a gastronomical marvel! It does one's heart good to see the old and the young, dressed in all the hues under the sun, squatting on the matting and eating away with a relish and happiness which are associated with wedding breakfasts only.

While all this is going on, let us have a peep into the *purdah* portion of the bridal house. The palanquins conveying the ladies of the bridegroom's party deposit them at the backdoor of the house, where they can get in without being observed by any masculine eyes. The mother of the bride welcomes the mother of the bridegroom and the other ladies at the door. The first is in the dirtiest clothes possible—an incivility forgiven by all, considering that she has been all these days as busy as a bee. She has had neither the chance nor the inclination to change. But the mother of the bridegroom and her party are of course dressed in their richest and best. On this occasion the immediate relations of the bride arm themselves with short sticks made entirely of flowers and belabour the visitors lustily. To these attentions the latter respond

with as much fervour, having provided themselves with these floral weapons before they set out on the wedding journey. Quite an Amazonian battle is fought. This may be a novel idea to Westerners, but common enough in India ; it is an expression of the heartiest welcome.

The ladies are then taken to a room set apart for them. Here they take a rest for a few minutes. The bridegroom is now sent for to come inside. He has by this time finished his part in the legal ceremony. But he cannot walk in. He is carried in in the arms of the same obliging brother-in-law of his bride—not that either of them relishes this mode of locomotion very much. But customs are customs and must be obeyed. He is safely deposited on the *Marwatala* of the bride. He is at once surrounded by the admiring eyes of all the women present. There is a ceremony called *purchana*, which is gone through now. The mother of the bridegroom gets up on the platform beside him and throws an *anchal*, i.e., the loose end of her *sari* on her son's head. A sister throws rice over his head and many other curious things are done. After these are over a glass of *sherbet* is offered, which the bridegroom merely touches with his lips. He does not drink it. For there is a superstitious fear that it may be a charmed potion which may turn him into an obedient slave of his wife and perhaps even make him into a henpecked husband.

The bridegroom is next taken back to the place from which he was brought in the arms of the same brother-in-law. He is given his breakfast now. As will be remembered all that he had had was a glass of milk in the morning before he set out and he gets his breakfast certainly not earlier than 2 P.M. Thus to be a bridegroom is not exactly a pleasure for men of regular habits. Young people—brothers and cousins of the bridegroom—have the privilege of breakfasting with him,—a privilege which is quite doubtful, considering the lateness of the hour. A circle is formed by these children and the bridegroom around

rather a large number of garnished dishes, and with a loud "*Bismillah*"—the shortest and commonest "grace" that is said before meals—the breakfast begins. It is to be observed that the bridegroom and these youngsters have their breakfast last of all, for the rest of the party finished theirs while the bridegroom was going through the ceremonies.

Though the bridegroom begins his breakfast well enough he does not finish it equally happily. In the East knives and forks are not used. People eat with their fingers. So when the breakfast is over the bridegroom has to wash his right hand. All the others can walk out and wash their hands where servants are helping the guests with soap and water. But the bridegroom can do no such thing. Custom prescribes that he washes his hand sitting where he is. A younger brother of the bride comes in with a washhand basin and water and offers to do the service for ten or twenty rupees; in the case of poor people for a rupee or two. He has to pay up or forego the washing, which is out of the question. So he pays up like a man and has his hands washed. This money is divided among the boy's little brothers and cousins to purchase bonbons, and they enjoy themselves with these to their hearts' content. But of course the one who earns it has the lion's share.

While the bridegroom has been taking his breakfast the ladies of the party sit down to theirs. When every one has finished eating—and this does not happen before 4 P.M.—the outstanding ceremony of the day takes place. The bride is already the bridegroom's wife since the legal part of the ceremony has been over and the Marriage Registrar has done his work. He may as well go home straight away with his wife, but custom orders otherwise and he has to go through much yet before he can depart. The bridegroom is taken to the "wedding hall" inside. This time he is not carried—possibly because the obliging brother-in-law of the bride is tired out with the exertions of the day or, perhaps, owing to the fear that

such a process of conveyance may cause an accident on the staircase. Anyway he walks upstairs, heralded by all the young voices present. "The Nowshah!" (the new king, being a synonym for "bridegroom"). "The Nowshah! The Nowshah!" shout the youngsters at the top of their voices.

For once the severity of the *purdah* rules are relaxed and all the fossilized beauties of the harems rush to the bridal hall to secure the nearest points of vantage from which to behold the coming ceremony. They do not mind the strangers among them now and freely expose their faces to the modest and covert gaze of the bridegroom. The man enters the hall and makes an elaborate *salaam* to all the ladies present. He goes and sits down; resting on his heels, by the side of what he guesses to be the bride. The bride is clad in all the richness of her wedding clothes from Benares. More than half-a-dozen willing hands have helped her with her trousseau. She is loaded with ornaments from head to foot—the presents of her parents and of her husband. She is lavishly sprinkled with the ottoes of the East. But no one can see her face. Her *anchal*, i.e., the loose end of the wedding *sari* and the *chadar*, a loose wrap, completely cover her up and nothing can be seen of her—not even the hands. The bridegroom is asked to place his left hand round the neck of the girl. So great is her shyness that at that touch she stoops down and down like a tropical touch-me-not and presents an appearance more like a bundle of clothes and jewellery than a living piece of womanhood. She feels more dead than alive. The hall is crowded to suffocation. It is no wonder that some brides faint, so great is the physical and mental strain.

Even now the bridegroom and the bride cannot have a look at each other's face. A few more ceremonies have to be finished before that important moment comes. Grains of dry rice are brought and placed in the bride's hands which are manipulated by an old grandmother and

guided over the bridegroom and then the rice is shed over his head. Cooked rice is then dipped in milk, placed on the little finger of the girl's right hand and guided to the bridegroom's mouth. He munches it for a second or two and throws it out on a corner of the *anchal* of her wedding *sari*, where it is tied up. These things may seem meaningless, but women in the East would never think of getting married without them. Their exact significance cannot be known, but they all agree that these little ceremonies bring good luck to the couple in their married life.

A piece of cloth is now thrown over the heads of the bridegroom and the bride to cut off the view of what happens beneath it from all eyes. But generally people know all about it in spite of the precaution. A mirror is placed in front of them. The old grandmother removes the covering from the bride's head and then asks both of them to look at each other's reflection in the mirror. They may not look at each other, personally, but look into the mirror instead, where their eyes meet! This procedure may seem strange, but it is meant to help the bride out of her extreme shyness. She cannot have the boldness at that supreme moment to turn her head and look up into the face of her husband, and hence this contrivance. When this is done the grandmother asks the bridegroom: "What have you seen, my son?" The bridegroom is tutored to reply "I have gazed upon the full moon." He has to give this figurative reply, even though his wife be anything but a beauty. Such is the custom of the land and such its prescription. After this reply has been given the bridegroom is asked to kiss the bride. Let it be said that in spite of the presence of the grandmother and the prying eyes of those present he acquits himself quite creditably in this new experiment. He kisses her on the cheek. Kissing on the lips is not the fashion in the first kiss. Need it be said that the girl almost collapses at this extraordinary and strange touch?

The bridegroom then slips the wedding ring on his wife's finger. This ring is not a plain prosaic circlet, but is as rich as he can afford and must be set with brilliants. When this is done the bride's head is again covered up, the cloth from above their heads removed and they both turn their foreheads to the West as an expression of great gratitude and thankfulness to God.

Up to this the only man present in this hall of women has been the bridegroom, but now a few more men are called in. The bride's as well as the bridegroom's father is sent for. The father of the bride "gives away" the bride. He takes the hand of his son-in-law and places the hand of his daughter in it. Over these are placed the hands of the parents of the bridegroom and over them he places his wife's hands and his own and covers this gallery of hands with a silk handkerchief and places on it the bridegroom's gold wedding ring, *pan* leaves and fine betel-nut. Then with a husky voice and genuine tears he addresses the bridegroom and says: "Up till now she has been my daughter, but now she is your wife. I charge you, in the name of God, my son, cherish her as such." On this a regular chorus of sobbing bursts forth all around. For at that moment all feel that the time of parting has come and that what was theirs has now become someone else's for better or for worse.

The bridegroom's party now departs with the bride. She travels in a *palanquin*—which can accommodate only two. The bridegroom takes up his wife in his arms—an armful of sweet-scented soft shyness and carries her down the stairs and places her in the *palanquin*. This is a most interesting function of the evening and all the young people in the house set up a cheering when he carries away the bride. But he must not, on any account, drop the precious load, for in that case instead of cheers he has nothing but jeers—and jeers in the bridal house are not a pleasant affair as some unfortunate men know to their sorrow. The grandmother who conducted the

introduction ceremony accompanies the bride to her father-in-law's place and takes the second seat in the bridal *palanquin*. The bridegroom goes back to his carriage or *takht*, a procession is formed a second time and to the tune of "See the Conquering Hero Comes" from the native "English" bands and with the illumination of a number of acetylene gas lamps, the bridegroom goes back home with his bride.

。 Rather a curious and comic *contretemps* with a serious *dénouement* once happened to two such processions. There were two weddings in a neighbourhood. As seen from the above the return journey takes place, if not always at night, sometimes in the dim twilight of the evening. Now it so happened that the two processions crossed each other on the way in one of the streets and the two bridal *palanquins* unconsciously changed places with each other. The mistake was not found out and quite a comedy, or rather tragedy, of errors arose. The mistake passed unobserved in the confusion of more ceremonies. Even the bridegroom did not notice the mistake and every one went to sleep that night tired yet happy. But the next morning there was a big *hubbub* in each household. It became clear in each case that the girl was not the right bride. The bride's parents were in each case sent for. They, too, were just as much in the dark as to how their daughter could be metamorphosed all in one night. Then on questions being put at little by little more and more light was thrown on the case and then it was realized that the *palanquin* bearers had blundered. The people at both places were at their wit's end as to what to do. Under the circumstances the bridegrooms could not restore their respective wives to each other. That was out of the question. A conference of all the parties concerned was held and it was decided that the best way out of the difficulty would be to let things remain as they were. The bridegrooms agreed to hold by the respective brides whom they had brought home. But the services of the *Quazi* had to be

called in a second time. The register had to be altered and this "untoward event" was thus set right. Nerissa evidently was not far from the truth when she said that the ancient saying was no heresy : "Hanging and wiving go by destiny."

Such, then, are the peculiar marriage customs of the Muhammadans of India and more particularly of Calcutta. Romance has no place in their weddings. Loving under the rose, attempting to escape from a father's house to join the lover, running away with him to an unknown Arcadia, and there getting married under the shade of a palm tree and living with felicity for ever and ever, have little place in the life of the Indian Muhammadan. Of course young collegians often grumble, but nothing can be done unless and until the girls also are educated. Then, perhaps, the marriage conditions and customs may be changed for the better. But, till then, *Kismet* is the word. Wild young rebels among the student community of Calcutta dream idly of leagues, the members of which will swear by all that is holy never to marry till they can get cultured girls as wives. But years must roll on before this connubial ultimatum to fathers of girls can come within the range of practical matrimonial politics.

A. F. M. MOHSIN ALI.

THE NEBULÆ AND THEIR RELATION TO COSMIC EVOLUTION.

BY REV. A. C. RIDSDALE, M.A.

THE Nebulæ are masses of shining diffused matter, shreds and balls of cloudy stuff distributed here and there throughout the immensities of space. The most notable of the astronomers who have given special attention to the discovery and study of these celestial objects are Messier, the two Herschels, Lord Rosse, the Bonds and the brothers Struve. Under insufficient telescopic power it is impossible to distinguish between a nebula and a star-cluster, because the individual stars of a star-cluster cannot be separated. The cluster Praesaepe to the naked eye looks exactly as if it were a nebula, although a very small telescopic power will reveal individual separate stars. Herschel showed with his large telescopes that many objects which had hitherto been taken for nebulae were really clusters of stars. It was erroneously thought that all nebulae could probably be resolved into star-clusters if the telescopic power were sufficiently great and that there was no real difference between the two. It was even reported that Lord Rosse's telescope had resolved the Orion nebula. This was not true, for we now know that the Orion nebula is wholly gaseous. Speaking of nebulae Lardner, writing in 1853, says "there are star-clusters, of which the component stars are indistinguishable only by reason of their remoteness." But the spectroscope has shown us that there are multitudes of nebulae that are not star-clusters at all but immense masses of glowing gas. This important discovery was made by W. Huggins in 1864. It is not unlikely however that nebulae and star-clusters shade

into each other by insensible gradations. The first historical record we possess of the discovery and recognition of a nebula is in Huygens' "Systema Saturnium." Writing in 1659 he says: "Thère is one phenomenon among the fixed stars worthy of mention, which, as I believe, hath hitherto been noticed by no man, and indeed cannot well be observed but with large telescopes. In the sword of Orion seven stars shone through a nebula, or small bright cloud, such that the space around them seemed far brighter than the rest of the heavens, so that it appeared as an opening in the sky, through which could be glimpsed the glory of the empyræan." A great advance in our knowledge of the nebulae has been achieved by the invention of the photographic dry plate. The first photograph of a nebula was produced by Draper in 1880. Eye observations and drawings cannot at all compete with the photograph. The photograph has revealed important and essential features of nebulae never recognized before by the largest telescopes, as for example the concentric rings of the Andromeda nebula, which so greatly resemble the rings of Saturn. With the visual telescope so little of the nebula can be seen at the same time since the field of an eyepiece is very small. Thus in the case of Andromeda, visible even to the naked eye, drawings left us in ignorance of this very essential feature, namely, that the dark rifts are curved and not straight, a fact which makes all the difference in estimating their meaning. Photography moreover captures objects which are far too faint to be seen by the eye, and the sensitive plate never tires like the eye but will receive more and more impressions the longer the exposure. A very faint dim light with long exposure will give as clear an impression as a brighter light with shorter exposure. The photograph however does not give the relative brightnesses accurately, since the exposure necessary to bring out faint details is far too great for the brighter parts. However this defect can be mostly remedied by taking several negatives of different lengths of

exposurés. There are about 10,000 nebulæ already catalogued. Herschel was the first to go systematically into the question of the nature and number of the nebulæ. Since his time Huggins has been the greatest discoverer by means of the spectroscope. He proved thereby that the light of true nebulæ proceeds from luminous gas. They give a spectrum of six or seven bright lines, namely, F Hydrogen, H γ Hydrogen, h Hydrogen, D $_{2}$ Helium and another Helium and two other unknown and unidentified lines, called provisionally "Nebulium." Lockyer thought it indicated the presence of magnesium, but this was an error. All gaseous nebulæ give this same spectrum, except that if too faint, only the brighter lines appear. Photography of late has proved very useful in the study of nebular spectra. By its means we now have a list of as many as 70 lines photographed in the spectra of gaseous nebulæ. 55 lines have been detected in the Orion nebula alone. The nebulæ do not all give a gaseous spectrum. Those that do so are all of the same greenish tint. The white nebulæ, such as Andromeda, give a perfectly continuous rainbow spectrum with no lines. This means that the white nebulæ are either composed of gases under high pressure, or of solids or liquids heated to incandescence. They are probably composed of partially cooled matter. Like the green nebulæ, however, they withstand all attempt at resolution into star-clusters. Photography with an ordinary portrait lens at the focus of the telescope has revealed the fact that vast regions of the sky are veiled in faint diffused nebulous matter. These delicate veils are invisible to the eye even through the best telescopes. It has been conjectured that possibly with long enough exposure, the whole sky might prove to be veiled over with nebulosity. The distribution of the nebulæ is not uniform over the sky. They are wholly absent from some regions and crowded in great profusion in others. Thus there is a cluster of nebulæ in Coma Berenice, and more than a hundred nebulæ are

crammed here into a space less than that occupied by the full moon, or 31 minutes diameter. They seem to avoid the Galaxy and have a preference for the galactic poles. Their tendency is to avoid the regions where stars abound. There seems to be some "relation of contrariety" between the nebulae and the stars. Perhaps the stars devour them, appropriating the surrounding nebulosity. W. Herschel made an extensive survey of the northern hemisphere and his son J. Herschel at the Cape Observatory of the southern, and between them catalogued 4,000 nebulae. J. Herschel says nearly a third of all the nebulae are congregated in an irregular patch which stretches from Ursa Major to Virgo. Since then Dreyer has catalogued 10,000 and Keeler estimates there are 120,000 nebulae within reach of the Crossley reflector. Cleveland Abbe has shown that in a belt of 30 degrees wide including the Milky Way, which means three-quarters of the celestial globe, only one-tenth of the number of the nebulae are found within this belt. Up to the present time no parallax has yet been discovered for any of the nebulae, nor is it likely that their distances will ever be found by this method. Being indeed of so indefinite and hazy an outline it would be very difficult to measure any parallactic displacement with the micrometer. And yet they are so associated with stars that it is impossible to doubt that they are at the same order of distance. For example, in the Pleiades star is connected with star by wisps of nebulosity. The longer the exposure the more nebulosity is revealed amongst the stars of the Pleiades. Each star having its own nebulous veil more brilliant than the region between the stars, whilst the entire group is bound together in a vast net of nebulosity, extending far out on all sides into space. When our Sun is eclipsed, we then see his nebulous envelope which we call his Corona. The stars of the Pleiades also have their coronae, only on a vastly larger scale than the Sun's Corona. Again in the Orion nebula four groups of lines in the spectrum of the nebula

coincide with corresponding lines in the spectrum of the neighbouring stars, which makes it probable that the stars are of the same composition as the nebula and lie within it. And again the dark space in which the stars of the Trapezium lie point to the fact that the nebulous matter in their proximity had been used up as it were in forming them. If it is true that any nebula and its adjacent stars are at the same distance, then it would be possible to find the distance of the nebula so long as a parallax for the star could be found. As yet no parallax for any nebulous star has been found. The spectroscope has shown that the radial motions of nebulæ are of the same order as those of the stars. In 1890 Keeler carefully observed many of the nebulæ in order to discover radial motion with a spectroscope of high dispersive power. He found that, like star motion, their motions away and towards us ranged from zero up to 40 miles per second. No motion in rotation has yet been visually observed, although it is certain that nebulæ must possess such a motion. The velocity of rotation of any system varies inversely as the square root of its moment of inertia, and therefore also of its density. Hence a very light and large mass would have a very slow rotation. And further, according to the laws of dynamics, the inner particles in order to preserve their equilibrium will have to rotate more rapidly than the outer. Hence the distinct spiral or whirling appearance of most of the nebulæ. Again, the gravitation towards the axis of rotation varies as the distance. And centrifugal force also varies as the distance, whatever the velocity. Hence a whole sphere may rotate in accordance with these laws, so that no change in the relative distances of the particles will disturb the equilibrium. Again the expansiveness of gases varies inversely as the space in which they are confined. This would account for the particles not falling into the equatorial plane. Again, the expansiveness of gases varies inversely as their volume. Thus as the radius increases the expansiveness would diminish inversely as the cube of

the radius, whereas the attraction would only diminish as its square. Hence there is a definite bounding-surface to a nebula. Nebulæ are of very varied character and forms. There are Annular, Ring, Planetary and Spiral, and irregular nebulæ. Most nebulæ, however, have a more or less marked condensation at the centre thinning off towards the extremities. The largest nebulæ are the irregular ones, such as Orion, which is now known from photographs of long exposure to include nearly the whole area occupied by the constellation. It seems probable that certain changes in the form of some of the nebulæ have been detected from the comparison of drawings made at different dates. Especially is this the case with Eta Argus and the trifold nebula in Sagittarius and the Omega nebula. The nebula in Sagittarius has near its centre a curious dark rift. In the middle of this rift Herschel says the triple star was placed, which is now placed at the confines of the nebula. The star has not moved relatively to the neighbouring stars, and therefore it is concluded that the nebula must have changed its form and position. Again in the case of the Omega nebula, it certainly does not any longer retain any resemblance to that letter. Professor Holden thinks that although the shapes of nebulæ suffer little or no change, the relative brightnesses of their parts are continually though gradually changing. Too great reliance, however, must not be placed upon the evidence we have in favour of change in the nebulæ. The evidence rests chiefly upon mere eye drawings of the nebulæ, and it is notorious how very differently two men will delineate the same nebula at the same time. They are exceedingly hazy and indefinite objects to make eye drawings of and the question of change cannot be settled until not drawings but photographs shall have been compared and discussed for a period of over many years to come. It is certain, however, that some nebulæ vary in brightness. Epsilon Tauri is a good example of a variable nebula. It can sometimes be seen with quite a small

telescope, and at others not with the largest. The change seems to have no regular periodicity. The larger and brighter and more irregular of the nebulæ, generally stretch out steamers on all sides and contain dark rifts or "lanes" such as the "fish-mouth" of Orion and the circular rifts of Andromeda. The enormous size of some of the nebulæ may be roughly estimated from comparisons of their angular measurements with the apparent distance of Neptune from the Sun as seen from Alpha Centauri the nearest star. The diameter of Neptune's orbit would appear to be only one minute of arc as seen from Alpha Centauri. The angular diameter of the Orion nebula as seen from the earth is several degrees. And it is certain the nebula is vastly further away from us than is Alpha Centauri. Therefore the central portion alone of the Orion nebula must occupy a space at least many thousands of times greater than the orbit of Neptune, whose radius is thirty times greater than 93,000,000 miles radius of the earth's orbit. If our Sun were enveloped in such a nebula, its tentacles would reach out to Polaris, which is forty-four light years distant. It is probable that the thickness or depth of the Orion nebula is not so great as its breadth or visible extension. The next largest nebula is in Andromeda. It is often mistaken for a comet by the uninitiated. It is a very long oval, $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of arc in length, and over a degree in breadth. It is sown over with multitudes of stars, 200 of which are found within 20 minutes of diameter. It is one of the regular or spiral nebulæ. It appears to be an enormously magnified edition of the Saturnian system, except that the nucleus is not globular, but merges into the rings. Its thickness or depth must be hundreds of millions of miles and yet we can see through it. The smaller nebulæ are more regular and generally elliptical and almost circular in shape. The most regular in shape are called "planetary" nebulæ from their close resemblance to planetary disks; most of them are in the southern hemisphere. In

some cases the disk shows a uniform surface, in others what Herschel calls a "mottled" or "curdled" appearance. These planetary nebulae are of various colours or tints of great beauty. Others are very elongated ellipses with every variety of eccentricity, others hardly more than slender wisps or streaks of light, probably denoting that they are seen edgewise. They generally are condensed towards the centre and often have a star at the centre of the condensation. The true forms of these nebulae are probably globular. There are thousands of "nebulous stars," or stars surrounded by an envelope of nebulous mist. There are a comparatively few nebulae which are not condensed in the centre, but on the contrary are dark or nearly dark in the centre and brighter at the circumference; only a few dozen have so far been discovered. These are the annular or ring nebulae, such as the famous nebula between Beta and Gamma Lyrae. Such nebulae are probably of a flat disk shape. There are also double nebulae, suggesting the idea of double stars in the making. It is almost certain that such clusters of nebulae must be physically connected and it is very probable that they move round each other or rather round their common centre of gravity like binary stars. Their apparent motion owing to their immense distance and comparatively low density is so slow that it could not be visually detected probably for thousands of years. But the most universal and characteristic form of nebula is the spiral nebula. These were first discovered by Lord Rosse. They have the form of a mop when it is being wrung out, with curved arms issuing from a central condensed nucleus presenting the appearance of rapid rotation about the nucleus as centre. The spiral nebula is hence often called the whirlpool form of nebula. The forms of nebulae appear to vary greatly with different telescopic powers, just as small objects change in appearance when seen under a microscope from what they appeared as seen by the naked eye. Thus what used to be considered a double nebula and was called the Dumb-bell

nebula has now been by larger telescopic power shown to be of the spiral form. The apparent form it must be remembered of any object in the heavens, is that of a cross section of the real form, made by a plane at right angles to the line of vision. If the mass had a rotational motion such as the planets have their exact form could then be mathematically deduced. But the nebulæ present no such rotational motion and therefore their true shape can only be guessed from their structural appearance. The intrinsic light of nebulæ must be vastly less than that of the Sun. For if the Sun subtended an arc in diameter of only 1 minute, its light would at that distance yet exceed that of 750 full moons, whereas the nebulæ which in many cases have an arc of diameter much greater than 1 minute cannot even be seen at all with the naked eye. Arago propounded the view that nebulæ shone with reflected light from stars hidden away in their centres, but this somewhat fantastic view is now quite discredited. It is certain they shine by their own intrinsic brightness, they are luminous gases of the most elemental type, less dense than any vacuum that could be produced on earth. It is indeed a mystery how such tenuous objects can assume and retain such clear and sharp outlines as they exhibit in their photographs. In most cases it looks as though the gas were in violent rotational motion, but how and where the force is impressed to produce such motion is an unsolved mystery. Much information regarding the connection of stars and nebulæ was afforded by the "new star" of 1901 in Perseus. In February there seemed to be no nebulosity in connection with the star, but in September a photograph revealed two wisps of nebulosity extending from the star. In November the spiral nebula around the star seemed to have extended outwards at a rate of 11 minutes of arc in a year. Now the question is, did the nebulous matter really travel out from the star at that rate, or was the phenomenon not rather due to the light from the outbursting central star travelling

towards the edges of the nebula that was already there. The latter seems to be far the more probable hypothesis of the two. If so, it means that light took one year to travel over the eleven minutes of arc as seen from our distance, and consequently judging from the velocity of light, the new star and nebula in Perseus would be distant from us 300 light years. The outburst must then have actually occurred just when Galileo first directed his optic tube towards the heavens, the news of which has only reached us in 1901. The inference can also be drawn that the nebula that was thus gradually lighted up must be 26 millions of millions of miles in circumference, or over eight millions of millions of miles in diameter. A treatise on nebulae would be incomplete if no mention were made of the connection between nebulae and the important theory of the origin and evolution of the universe known as the "nebular hypothesis." The study of such a nebula as that of Andromeda and the knowledge lately gained regarding its formation seems to strongly corroborate and confirm the truth of the nebular hypothesis. Here we have a central nebula, which seems to have thrown off rings in rotation, some of the substance of which seems to have already conglomerated into rudimentary satellites. There are two distinctly formed and others seem to be in course of formation. Such a general evolution not only for the solar system but for the whole universe was already thought out by Laplace over a century before the true formation of the Andromeda and other spiral nebulae were even guessed at. The evidence of the modern photograph has illustrated Laplace's theories as facts, much in the same way as the theories of Copernicus regarding planets and satellites were confirmed when Galileo invented his optic tube and actually saw real satellites circulating around Jupiter. Thus the new knowledge we have gained of the nature of the nebulae throws a flood of new light on the historical development

or evolution of the universe. The "nebular hypothesis" was first suggested by the philosopher Kant, but developed and treated in a more rigorously mathematical and scientific manner as we have said by the great mathematician Laplace. The theory in spite of modification in detail is still held in the main just as Laplace propounded it. Laplace confined his enquiries chiefly to the origin of the solar system, but the same theory may be extended on a magnified scale to the stellar universe. According to his theory the solar nebula was originally a mass of heated gas. We now believe it was a cloud of cold dust. It can be mathematically shown that the mutual attraction of its particles would cause the nebula to assume a globular form, to start rotating, and to begin to grow hotter. The laws of dynamics tell us that as it contracted, it began to rotate more rapidly, its poles began to get flattened and its equator to bulge out. Finally the centrifugal force at the equator would overcome the centripetal force there, and a ring of nebulous matter would escape. Or, as is now thought more probable, denser portions of matter at the equator would be left behind and become the origin of satellites. As the original body still further contracted other rings or globular masses were liberated. These liberated masses would in their turn behave in like manner as the parent nebular mass, and throw off rings or balls of matter as they condensed and consequently their rotation and centrifugal force became greater. Thus satellites to the planets would be formed. If the ring were of fairly homogeneous density, they might condense into an immense number of small bodies like the asteroids, or the lumps no larger than brickbats which make up Saturn's rings. The planets and satellites must first have liquefied, and then as they grew still cooler, solidified. Small bodies like the asteroids and satellites quickly lost their heat and are now probably solid throughout. The next larger sized bodies, such as our Earth, Venus, etc., formed a cooler crust

whilst retaining in their centre matter at a high temperature. The largest planets, such as Jupiter and Saturn, have still retained their original nebular heat to such an extent that a cool crust has not yet been formed and they are still in the semi-liquid stage. The huge central nucleus of the original nebula, the Sun, which has retained the vast majority of the primitive mass within himself, will not lose any appreciable heat until he begins to liquefy. "It used to be thought, when it was first discovered, that the satellites of Uranus and Neptune have a retrograde motion and that the inner satellite of Mars has a shorter period of rotation than its primary, that these facts strongly militated against the acceptance of the "nebular theory." It has now been proved mathematically that they present no real contradiction to the theory. Let us now see what help we can derive from our study of the nebulae in solving the riddle of cosmic evolution. Let us see the mutual relation existing between the various orders of bodies in the universe, tracing the series from the nebulae through the stars, down to our own solar system. Herschel very aptly compared the denizens of the sky to the trees of a forest, where can be seen plants in every stage of development, from the seedling to the prostrate trunks of the dead and faded old oak. In the heavens in like manner we can see objects in their infancy and in their old age. We have just recounted the theory of the nebular origin and evolution of the solar system as first propounded by Laplace and later improved upon by succeeding generations of astronomers. Let us now extend our inquiries to the whole stellar universe as known to us. In the first place, we find vast inchoate masses of elemental or primæval matter scattered in all directions throughout the universe. Some of the vastest of these nebulae can only be detected by photography, being too faint to be seen by the eye in the most powerful telescope. Surely then, we are right in assuming this to be the raw material demanded by nebular evolution theory. Surely this is the

“world-stuff” of the philosophers in its most elementary form. Next look at the great Andromeda nebula. It presents as it were in a living picture the very epitome or summary of the nebular theory. Here we have the central condensing nucleus, the rings of tenuous matter thrown off as the nucleus rotates, and at least two very clearly defined condensed masses beginning to form themselves into dependent globes. Again if we study the stars in the Trapezium of Orion, we see they are surrounded by a dark space eaten out of the surrounding nebulosity, which has been absorbed in their formation. If we examine the spectra of these Trapezium stars we see that it exactly tallies with the spectrum of the surrounding nebula. If we study the planetary nebulæ, we find we can arrange them in an orderly series from those which have only a slight central condensation, through those which exhibit a very clearly defined central nucleus, up to those which may properly be called nebulous stars, rather than planetary nebulæ, the process of solar system formation having been completely accomplished, the nebulosity around the star being the equivalent of our Sun’s so-called corona. Again if we turn to the Pleiades, we find every individual star involved in very distinct nebulosity, and star join to star by rays of nebulous matter, and when the exposure of the photograph has been sufficiently long, we are amazed to find the whole group buried entirely in one vast nebula, whose dimensions utterly stagger the imagination. Here then again we find the closest connection between the nebulæ and the stars. Again there are thousands of stars which appear to be enclosed in nebula, and the truth of this is confirmed by their very complicated spectra, as of incandescent solid bodies shining through gaseous envelopes. In fact the stars can be arranged in an orderly series of their spectra, beginning from the least developed planetary nebulæ right up to the most finished star. Turn to our own earth. The volcano tells us the interior is exceedingly hot, the thermometer carried below

the surface tells us the same tale. The geologist tells us that the granite of our mountains has been scorched by primæval fires and that marble is but limestone transformed by intense heat. The mountains themselves are but the wrinkles of the earth's contracted crust. Surely if the earth were heated to incandescence it would give a spectrum similar to that of the stars. If we again turn to the solar system, we find that it is no mere accidental aggregation of bodies. Masses coming haphazard towards the Sun, would move as comets in every degree of inclination and eccentricity, but it is quite otherwise as regards the planets. We know according to the nebular theory the outer planets should have been formed from large rings of small density and the inner planets from small rings of great density. Consequently the outer planets should be large but light and the inner planets small but heavy. And is not this true to fact? Then again in strict accordance with the laws of the nebular theory, the planets all rotate in the same direction as the Sun rotates, all nearly in the same plane, and that plane very nearly identical with the plane of the Sun's equator. The satellites also revolve in the plane of the equators of their respective primaries which (with two exceptions which can be quite satisfactorily accounted for) are themselves again nearly in the plane of the Sun's equator. Again if we turn to the Sun we know that his heat is kept up by continual contraction. In other words, he is growing smaller and smaller. Hence in past ages he was much larger than he is now. If we go back in our imagination over immense abysses of past time we see the Sun and his planets as one immense diffuse globular nebula, resembling in every detail the forms of nebulae which we can with the aid of powerful instruments now see as at present existing in the universe. As regards however the vast question of cosmic evolution itself, whilst astronomical science has indeed given us not a few clear and decided answers, there is a vastly greater number of important questions

which by means of patient and earnest investigations yet remain to be solved, and other questions regarding this unspeakably immense work of the Creator which are and always will be infinitely beyond the capacities of man's finite and somewhat feeble intellect ever to solve. The range of man's powers of research may be likened to that of ephemeral insects, and the series of processes which it is in the power of man to watch and to trace back may be likened to the series of events which take place within the limits of one day, which in the case of many insects represents a lifetime. All that can be said with any certainty regarding this cosmic evolution is that a universal process of condensation and aggregation of rarefied masses of matter (such as are the nebulæ) is now going on in obedience to certain dynamical laws of force, that the potential "energy of position" is throughout the universe being converted into heat, that this generated heat is being in all directions radiated as energy into space, and to surrounding bodies as waves of light and heat, and that, if God does not hereafter decree otherwise, this process will continue until the temperature of all things in this universe will have been reduced to absolute uniformity and hence to eternal death and stagnation. But further than this it is not in man's power to fathom, even as regards merely this part of God's realm which we call the Universe. "Lo! these are but a portion of His ways, they utter but a whisper of His glory." We will conclude in the words of the old German seer, "God called a man into the vestibule of heaven. And to an angel He said 'Take him, and strip from him his robes of flesh, cleanse his vision and put a new breath in his nostrils, only touch not with any change his human heart.' It was done, and with a mighty angel for his guide the man stood ready for his infinite voyage. And from the terraces of heaven, without sound or farewell, at once they wheeled away into endless space. With solemn flight of angel's wings, they passed through saharas of darkness, through wildernesses of

death, that divided the worlds of life, over frontiers which were quickening under prophetic motions from God. Then from a distance which is counted only in heaven, light dawned from a shapeless film, with unutterable swiftness as they swept to the light. In a moment the rushing of planets was upon them, in a moment the blazing of suns was around them. Then came eternities of twilight. Then came mighty constellations built up like triumphal gates, resting by spans that seemed ghostly from infinitude. Without measure or number were the architraves. Within were stairs that scaled the eternities around. Above was as below, below as above, depth was swallowed up in height unsurmountable, height was swallowed up in depth unfathomable. Then the man sighed, and shuddered, and wept, and said thus to the angel 'O Angel, I will go no farther, for the spirit of man acheth with this infinity. Insufferable is God's glory. Let me lie down and die, and hide me from the persecution of the Infinite, for end I see there is none.'"

A. C. RIDSDALE.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA ANNUAL REPORT, 1912-13.—Part I.

The latest issue of the Archæological Survey Report (1912-13, Part I) adds largely to our knowledge of Indian antiquities. These additions may be classified under three main heads—Numismatical, Epigraphical and Archæological.

In the department of Indian Numismatics we find 240 gold coins of the Vijayanagar Kings Harihar and Achutaraya, 2 gold coins of Kumargupta II and 2 of Chandragupta II (Vikramaditya) and 233 Roman denarii belonging to the reigns of Tiberius and Augustus. But the most important are the finds of the Director-General in course of his memorable Taxila excavation. "The whole site of Taxila," as Sir John remarks, "is remarkably prolific in coins . . . At the Chir Tope, the most numerous are those of the Kushan Kings . . . I have no hesitation in saying that the evidence from this site entirely precludes 58 B.C. as the date of Kanishka's accession."

So Sir John hopes to have solved one of the most disputed problems of Indian numismatics and to have settled the Kushan chronology.

In the department of Epigraphy much important work has been done during the year under survey. The identification of the modern village of Kosari near Allahabad with the ancient city of *Kausambi* has been clearly proved by Hultzsch and Pargiter. The statement of Kalidas that a Trikutaka King ruled over Aparanta (Raghuvamsa IV 58) has been confirmed by the Surat plates of King Vyaghrasena. The Balaba (Belava) copper plate inscription, "a document of exceptional value for the history of the *Varma* Kings of Bengal," was first brought to notice by Mr. R. D. Banerji, the renowned author of the first Scientific History of Bengal.

The new special tables for the computation of Hindu dates, contributed by Professor Jacobi of Bonn and the List of Brahmi inscriptions from the earliest times to about A.D. 400 prepared by Professor Lüders of Berlin are acquisitions of permanent value. They are indispensable to every student of Indian antiquities.

But the year under review is especially memorable for the *exploration* work it witnessed. "For the first time in the history of archaeological enterprise in this country the Government of India has taken up the thorough and exhaustive examination of some of the great city sites of antiquity," like Taxila, Sanchi and Pataliputra. For the first time, too, as we find in the report, an Indian Durbar and a private individual had undertaken to bear the cost of excavation works. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and Mr. Ratan Tata of Bombay have agreed to finance the exploration of Sanchi and Pataliputra respectively while the Imperial Government has undertaken the excavation of Taxila.

At Kumarhar the explorations of Dr. Spooner have resulted in the discovery of the so-called pillared hall of Mauryan date (3 B.C.). It is supposed to have been buried under a thick deposit of mud as the result of a silting process after a great flood in the early Gupta epoch. Then a great conflagration is said to have followed the great flood a century later and to have completed the destruction.

The exploration receives additional interest from the assertion of Dr. Spooner that the ground plan of this pillared hall of Mauryan Pataliputra, "exhibits a pronounced similarity in essential features with the famous hall of a hundred columns at Persepolis." This in its turn had led Dr. Spooner to assume an intimate connection between Mauryan India and Persia. But we must admit that his Zoroastrian hypotheses, however bold and tempting it may be, is as yet too ponderous to be supported by the foundation of facts hitherto collected.

The excavation works at Sanchi and Taxila, conducted by the Director-General himself, have resulted in a wealth of discoveries, almost beyond expectation, especially when

the short period of work is taken into consideration. In some portion of his excavation at Sanchi, Sir John has been able to discover "four clear and well-defined strata indicative of the occasions on which the structure was built and rebuilt: first during the Mauryan epoch; secondly, during the Andhra rule; thirdly, in early Gupta days, and lastly in the sixth-seventh century A.D." Moreover he has fixed the proper date of some artistic and architectural finds hitherto wrongly attributed to the Mauryan and early Andhra rulers.

Over and above the wealth of artistic materials, 300 new inscriptions have been added to the 580 epigraphical records already published by Cunningham, Bühler and Lüders. And it is gratifying to learn that the Director-General has arranged with MM. Senart and A. Foucher to publish in collaboration a special monograph on Sanchi. The two French savants are the highest authorities on the subjects in which they would write—Senart in Buddhist epigraphy and Foucher in Buddhist iconography. Hence their very names are sufficient guarantees for the success of the enterprise.

At Taxila the discoveries of the Director-General are not less startling and even of more far-reaching consequences. Here firstly, he has determined the ages of the several settlements and, secondly, has recovered a number of monuments of the Scytho-Parthian and Kushan epochs and by fixing their relative dates has established a series of much needed landmarks in the history of architectural development. The prevailing spirit of the Scytho-Parthian architecture has been found to be Hellenistic, the Indian elements being subsidiary; and this architecture leaves no room for doubt that the Sakas and Pahlavas played a prominent part in the diffusion of classical ideas in India—a fact which has an intimate bearing on the evolution of early Indian art.

Thirdly, he has "secured an abundance of sculptured images, which, like the architectural remains, furnish us with new and valuable data for chronology of the plastic arts."

Fourthly, he has demonstrated that Buddhism had a strong following at Taxila in the Scytho-Parthian epoch;

and consequently the generally accepted opinion that Kanishka was responsible for the hold which Buddhism took upon the North-West of India must be discarded.

Lastly, he hopes to have obtained clear and conclusive evidence, both from the coins and from the buildings, as to the sequence of the Greek, Scytho-Parthian and Kushan dynasties and to have found that there are no grounds for supposing either that Kanishka intervened in the first century before Christ or that the Saka King Manes was reigning in the second century of our era."

The results achieved by the Director-General are momentous and we eagerly await the publication of the full data on which he has based these conclusions.

REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA.—For the year ending 31st March 1915.

We are glad to review the Archæological Survey Report of Burma for the year 1914-1915. The economic strain due to the Great War and the consequent retrenchment in every department of Imperial administration have not failed to affect the finances of the Burma Archæological Survey; for we find that the amount of the Imperial grant-in-aid was reduced from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 5,000. Yet the Archæological Department has done much important work. The most valuable discoveries of the year as we read from the Report, from a historical point of view, are the inscribed terra-cotta tablets found at the Maung-di pagoda which not only fix the date of the pagoda but also that of the expedition of King Anorathe (1040-1077) against the Indian settlements in the Delta which were a growing danger to the stability of his own power in Pagau. The oldest of these Indian settlements was *Criksestra* or old Prope. When we take into consideration the transfer of place-names from Utkala and dravid countries to ancient Burmese sites, we cannot but admit some connection between ancient Burma and Orissa and Southern India of old. In the first century before and after the Christian era, the merchant-

colonizers of Southern, Eastern and Northern India had already penetrated as far as Mandalay. The higher culture of the newcomers slowly but surely permeated the less gifted natives, raising them to a higher plane of civilization and imbuing them with new thoughts and ideals. The deepest and most lasting impression was made by the religion the Indian settlers brought with them. With religion were introduced, among other arts, architecture and sculpture, although till very late, indeed, these two arts were the monopoly of the aliens from India. Plastic art in Burma may be considered as almost altogether Indian, excepting some details of execution and ornamentation, which, however, are not apparent before the eleventh century A.D. Thus, Burma from very early times was in direct communication with, and deeply influenced by, India in all that concerns religion and art.

The other work, most interesting to every student of Buddhist antiquities, is the completion of the collection of 167 terra-cotta plaques found at Pegu which illustrate practically all the 550 *Jatakas* (Birth stories of the Buddha) of which illustrations were lacking.

Many other numismatical and epigraphical finds have been mentioned and the Archaeological Department has undertaken much important work for the coming year. To mention only part of it we refer to the projected History of Architecture at Pagau and the publication of *Epigraphia Burmanica* after the style of *Epigraphia Carnatica*.

THE ORAONS OF CHOTA NAGPUR: THEIR HISTORY, ECONOMIC LIFE, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.—By Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A. With map and introduction by A. C. Haddon, M.A., F.R.S. Ranchi, 1915.

The writer informs us that this book is the result of fifteen years' intimate acquaintance with the Oraons, and it may very well be so, for he has dealt with this people, their history and their customs in a very minute and thorough fashion. His earlier work on the Mundas

in 1912 shows that he has given much time and has brought trained observation to bear on those interesting peoples. Oraon has come to be the official name for this people, but they call themselves Kurukh and trace themselves from the district of Karusdes to the south of Buxar and Arrah. They are undoubtedly Dravidians who came north from the Carnatic by the Narbada River until they settled in Bihar. Their language is said to be more nearly allied to Canarese than to any other Dravidian languages spoken in the south of India. In the course of this wandering they practised agriculture and cattlebreeding and learned the use of metal implements. Driven from Shahabad they moved to the Chota Nagpur plateau and gradually crowded out the Mundas who retreated to the southern and eastern parts of the plateau. The Mundas have probably exerted the most influence but latterly Christianity and to a less extent Hinduism have also influenced them. In the Ranchi District the census of 1911 shows a total Oraon population of 398,000 and of these 302,000 are animists, 88,000 Christians, 3,760 Hindus.

It is interesting to learn that the Oraons have that very archaic form of economic, social and religious organization—the bachelor's dormitory. The boys living in it are grouped into three age grades and the same is the case with the girls in their dormitory. Marriage between members of the same clan, *gotra*, is strictly prohibited, but while dormitory life lasts there is seemingly complete license among these young people. Again it has to be noted how minute and careful is the information that has been gathered by the writer who has also brought together a number of good photographs of the people, their ornaments and their homes.

W.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS PITT.—By Sir Cornelius Neale Dalton. University Press, Cambridge. 1915. Pp. xii. and 611.

The subject of this biography, Thomas Pitt, is known to many from his connection with the famous diamond and

as the Grandfather of Lord Chatham and the Great Grandfather of William Pitt. It is doubtful whether this would be considered a good reason for a volume of this size which has manifestly involved much research and labour. It is now well known, however, that Thomas Pitt was one of the ablest Governors that the Presidencies in India had, and the publication of Hedges Diary in 1889 by the Hakluyt Society, the Fortescue MSS. at Dropmore by the Historical MSS. Commission and Colonel Love's exhaustive work "Vestiges of Old Madras" have shown how far the history of the Company in India was guided by this servant.

His life was adventurous beyond the common even in those days. Born of a well-established Dorset family at Blandford St. Mary in 1653, he sailed in 1673 in the East Indian ship *Lancaster* as an officer, left her—deserted is perhaps the correct word—at Balasore, worked for four years under East Indian factors, married the niece of two of them and henceforward had sufficient capital for his interloping career. In 1683 he returned to England with a fortune. How this fortune was lost is not clear, but another interloping expedition to the Hooghly was undertaken in 1693 and in 1697 he was appointed Governor of Madras. In 1709 he was dismissed and returned to England to live as a wealthy landholder and to face constant family quarrels. He died in 1726. The interference with the East India Company monopoly in trade, designated interloping, was no doubt a serious crime in the eyes of the Directors, but this view is strongly discounted by their action in appointing one of the most successful of the interlopers to the responsible post of Governor of Madras. Thomas Pitt made his fortune by interloping, such a fortune as enabled him to buy estates in England, build mansions thereon, deal in diamonds that could be bought only by one or two European princes, and meet the expenses of worthless and extravagant sons, and yet nothing worse than interloping can be charged against him. The Company found him an honest, strong and vigorous servant, a man of great resource and extraordinary ability in dealing with Indian

traders and leaders. He had a strong will, a temper sufficiently keen, and a remarkable power of saying exactly what he meant in the fewest possible words. His family life seems to have been happy until there came the long separation from wife and children and then began a time of acute misery to all concerned. Judged by moral standards of his own time he does not come short.

The author has given much time and pains to the book, which is well illustrated and has a useful list of authorities quoted.

J.

FATE AND FREE-WILL.—By A. S. Wadia. J. M. Dent and Sons.

This book is an enthusiastic advocacy of fate as the only true principle according to which events take place. The writer states in the first five chapters various historical views which have been held on the question of fate and free-will, but he is apt to represent thinkers as having made conclusions which it is safe to say that they had no intention of making. It is really to beg the question to state that Socrates practically proclaimed himself a necessitarian by declaring that "no one can choose evil knowing good" and the judgment that Augustine did not believe in the freedom of the will even in a modified form requires justification, just as the statement that "the influence of Christ was mainly for man's freedom as that of Paul was decidedly for predestination" is far too sweeping. The larger part of the book is occupied by the last chapter where the writer states his own views. This contains nothing new but is a good statement of the ordinary deterministic position.

It is unfortunate that out of the few pieces of ungrammatical English which appear in the book two should occur on the first two pages.

G. E.

THE PATH ETERNAL.—By J. Renton Denning.
Messrs. Thakur Das and Sons, Delhi.

"The Path Eternal" is a poetical dialogue between The Poet and The Pandit on the fundamental things of life. There is some excellent poetry but the language is frequently so technical that the verse degenerates to mere rhymed prose. One feels at the end that

"East is East, and West is West
And never the twain shall meet."

The book is published in a particularly unattractive form.

W. D.

PERIODICALS.

THE MONIST.—April 1915.

This number of the *Monist* hardly comes up to the usual level of interest. The opening article on "The Disciples of John and the Odes of Solomon" is by Dr. Preserved Smith and is an attempt to prove that the Odes were written by a disciple of John the Baptist about the middle of the first century A.D. The elaboration of the main point seems of less value than the incidental description given of the school of thinkers and religious teachers which drew its inspiration from the Baptist. Mr. Bernard Lucas continues his learned disquisitions on the psychological experience of time, and the perusal of the article makes one wonder whether Mr. Lucas is talking about abstruse things in simple language or about simple things in abstruse language. Dr. Paul Carus contributes a poem called "The Over-God." It is a philosophical article in blank verse. Why it should be in blank verse, we have, as yet, failed to discover.

W. S. U.

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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—July 1915.

The first article in this number is on "The Work of our Doctors and Nurses in the Field of War" and is written by H. S. Souter, late Surgeon-in-Chief, Belgian Field Hospital. The first part contains a vivid picture of the

conditions of work at the front, and in the latter part the writer gives expression to certain results which he hopes may accrue after the war. One of these is that as the Crimean War gave us Florence Nightingale and our nurses, this war may leave us as its legacy an army of women trained to fight against and to prevent disease. And another possible outcome is the organization of hospitals in times of peace on the lines of the organization for war-field hospitals in the city and base hospitals in the country where patients can be kept until they are to all intents and purposes cured.

Another interesting article is that by W. Handley Jones on "The Message of Mr. H. G. Wells." Wells' Realism is only a method which serves his message; the message itself is that our intellectual and moral progress is not keeping pace with our physical progress, and "in face of so much that calls for bold and generous views we cling timidly to the ethical and educational traditions of a simpler world." Mr. Jones finds that Wells has grasped and stated his problem, but that he has so far failed to find a solution for it. It is his opinion that Wells "has been slowly travelling towards the Christian position and long seeking the Christian solution. His thinking has brought him to a deep despair of human nature, and his position at present is one in which the only alternatives are Christianity and Pessimism."

Amongst the varied contents of the *Review* may be named also articles on "The Noblest Man I have known: S. J. Stone, the Hymn-Writer," by Coulson Kernahan, on "Clement of Alexandria," by John S. Banks, and a note on "The Five Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of John Huss" by H. B. Workman.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW—July 1915 (London: John Murray).

One of the best things in this issue of the *Quarterly* is a brilliant examination of "patriotism" by the Dean of St. Paul's whose work is always thoughtful and fresh. Starting with a criticism of the view that patriotism

springs from selfishness, as some philosophers assert, the writer seeks to prove that this emotion when unpervverted is the very opposite of an immoral obsession, and, in its results, full of benefit to the world in general. Pervverted patriotism undoubtedly exists, as the present war shows, and one finds the causes in such instincts as pugnacity and acquisitiveness. In the case of the German people another cause has been at work, and that is the belief, based on a pseudo-scientific theory, that their race is superior to all others. The writer, quoting the Belgian Abbe Noel, finds the real basis of patriotism in "a certain common mode of conceiving the conditions of the social life" and applies this to British ideals: "We believe in chivalry and fairplay and kindliness—these things first and foremost; and we believe, if not exactly in democracy, yet in a government under which a man may think and speak the things he wills. We do not believe in war and we do not believe in bullying. We do not flatter ourselves that we are the supermen; but we are convinced that the ideas which we stand for and which we have on the whole tried to carry out, are essential to the peaceful progress and happiness of humanity; and for these ideas we have drawn the sword . . . Patriotism thus spiritualized and moralized is the true patriotism."

Mr. Moreland, the prominent economist, contributes an excellent article on "The War and Indian Wheat," in which he explains and criticizes the recent experiment of the Government of India with regard to the exportation of this important food-stuff. Though the emergency measures are likely to prove immediately successful, the probable ulterior effects give grounds for anxiety. It seems likely that as much wheat will be required by the world next year as this, if not more, and therefore it is important that the Indian crop of 1916 should be as large as possible. But, if the confidence of the peasants, who are easily misled in such matters, is shaken owing to a distorted view of the Government's action, their distrust may lead them to curtail their sowing of wheat. In that case, the result may be very serious not only for the Empire but for the world. On the other hand, if no

reaction follow this delicate economic enterprise, India will be permanently benefited by the Government's intrepidity.

Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's article on "The Caliphate" invites special attention from readers in this country on account of the present situation. The writer sketches the history of the sacred office from its foundation down to 1517 when the Ottomans conquered Egypt and "Selim I. compelled his captive El-Muṭawekkil to assign to him his sacred office, and afterwards handed it on to successive Turkish Sultans," a fact which shows that in the Caliphate as in so many things "the simple law of the strong arm" at last prevailed. It is most important to notice, however, that there has never been universal agreement amongst Moslems as to the true Caliph, and to-day, apart from the fact that a considerable section of them wait for a Caliph to be born and usher in a millennium, there are many as six Caliphs with their followers amongst the rest of the Moslems.

"War Wounds and Disease" is the title of an authoritative article by Professor Sir W. Osler who has many interesting things to say about the more serious camp-diseases. In the early days of the war, tetanus carried off numbers of our soldiers but all the British wounded now receive a protective anti-tetanic vaccination and the results are very gratifying. Typhoid has claimed few victims owing to the fact that over 90 per cent. of our troops have been inoculated, though inoculation is not compulsory in the British Army. Typhus is another camp-disease which doctors have successfully fought by taking great precautions against lice-infection. Professor Osler concludes with a few words on *Nerves*, not an unimportant disease amongst soldiers, and finds an explanation for the appearance of the angels at Mons in the disturbance of the higher brain-centres, owing to psychic shock.

An intimate acquaintance with recent Italian politics and politicians is shown by Dr. Dillon in his article on "The Italian Crisis." He is unsparing in his condemnation of the "uncrowned monarch" Giovanni Giolitti whose treacherous plotting with Prince von Bulow from a desire to uphold his own power was fortunately detected by the bulk

of the nation, who "rose up in wrath against him and his nefarious manoeuvres." Italy's decision, the writer thinks, was the choice of the people, not the work of statesmen, foreign and domestic. Near the end of the article there is a significant paragraph on the attitude of the Vatican and the Pope who "is known to nurse feelings the reverse of friendly towards Russia, and to have set his heart on propping up Austria, as the last great Catholic Empire."

The splendid account of "The Progress of the War" is continued by Colonel Blood and Mr. Hurd, and such articles as the "Dardanelles" by Mr. Walter Leaf, "Nietzsche and German Education" by Mr. A. Randall and "War Zones, Blockade, Contraband and Right of Search" by Dr. Bate provide interesting and instructive reading.

"KOSMOS."—Nos. 8 and 9.

Kosmos reflects cosmetic rather than cosmopolitan interests. It is a pretty picture magazine, containing quaint Japanese songs and wise sayings about music and the drama. The French number recommends kilts for women, the cover design showing how graceful the effect may be. But when *Kosmos* comes to the cosmopolitan question—war, it can give us nothing better than quotations from *The Bengalee* and Mr. Andrew Carnegie. Does *Kosmos* know what we are fighting for?

The management have recognized, however, that that was a digression and have promised not to repeat it. As a journal of art and literature it is almost brilliantly successful. It holds quite a unique place among the magazines of India.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW.—July, August 1915.

In these issues of the *Hindustan Review* Mr. S. V. Doraiswami in an article on Indian Finance and the Chamberlain Commission covers well-trodden ground and with the determined step of the man who believes that things are wrong because he knows that they are wrong. For example he quotes Lord Rothschild, "neither

a theorist, nor an official apologist," as saying that unless Government had the gold to give to those who wanted to export and not bills, the gold standard must fail. We have no desire to plunge into the question which some hold that this urges upon us; but is such a quotation of much value to-day? It was the view of Lord Rothschild when examined in 1898 before the Fowler Committee. There are, no doubt, directions in which our currency system is capable of improvement, but it is extravagant to regard it as wholly bad. For example, the view that India has unconsciously advanced beyond a gold currency is worthy of more intelligent consideration. It is more than a mere subtle thought for the reconciliation of Indian opinion and official policy (which are not so divergent as some publicists would have us think). Those who see subtlety refuse, of course, to be caught. And the currency, as it is, is also worthy of more careful study. The events of the past year have been exceptional but they are instructive. After the outbreak of the war the issue of gold in India was necessarily stopped but it is an interesting commentary on the controversy about a gold currency to learn that little inconvenience was caused by this stoppage. In the Report of the Commissioner of Paper Currency in Bombay for the year 1914-15 we read—"Since Government has directed the various Treasuries to issue coin freely in exchange for notes and *vice versa* the popularity of notes is growing and there seems no reason why notes should not to a large extent replace coin as gold has replaced silver. Should this actually happen it would go a long way to justify the views of those who hold that there is no necessity for gold to circulate largely in India in future, provided sufficient arrangements are made to supply gold to persons leaving India and to those who have to make payments in gold to crews of ships."

But Mr. Doraiswami's continued article is not all that these issues of the *Hindustan Review* have to offer. There is much that will interest the reader in the other articles which are appropriate either to the war conditions of Europe or the history and special problems of India.

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